HISTORY OF ORISSA

R A N C H I

MANBHUM

SINGHBHUM

GANGPUR

MAYURBHANJ

B A M R A

BALASORE

PANCHAMAL

SOUTHERN KOSALA

K O S A L A

T O S A L A

Dhenkanal

KONGODA

KALINGA

EASTERN GHATS

VIZAGAPATAM

COCANADA

B A Y

O F

B E N G A L

82 83 84 85 86 87

23 22 21 20 19 18 17

OLD KODALAKA ---- EXTENDS ROUND THE MARK ✱

" JAMAGARTTA ---- " " " " ▲

" KHINJALI ---- " " " " ●

AIRAPATTA ---- " " " ■

M.Ghose



R. D. BANERJI

HISTORY OF ORISSA

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE BRITISH PERIOD

By

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Vol. II

With one map and ninety-five plates

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE TO THE SECOND VOLUME

It would have given me unmixed pleasure, if the erudite author of this work had lived to see it published. But unhappily he died before even the first volume had been given to the public. It is some consolation, however, that the last fruit of his labours is at length out of the press.

It is to be regretted that there has been some delay in the publication of the second volume. But it was to some extent unavoidable, as the author had requested that certain illustrations and some information on certain points should be included in this volume. His wishes have been met as far as was practicable.

The work will now await the verdict of contemporary scholars, and also of posterity, as there are still many gaps to be filled in the History of Orissa, particularly in the ancient and mediæval periods.

THE PUBLISHER

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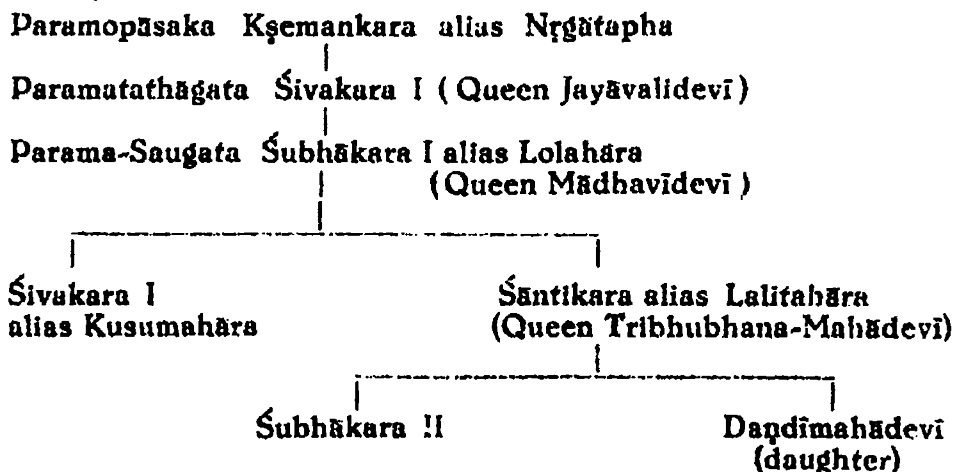
PUBLISHER'S NOTE : Of monochrome plates which appear in this volume, those that have been reproduced by the kind permission of Archæological Survey of India, the Archæological Department of the Mayurbhañj State, and Messrs. Johnston and Hoffmann of Calcutta, have the abbreviations of A. S., A. D. M. and J. H. respectively.

Addenda and Corrigenda

In order that the reader may be posted up to date with regard to the subject matter of the various chapters, the Publisher begs to append the following notes, on the various chapters indicated, made in the light of the latest publications. A note on certain Manbhum temples by Mr. Nirmal Kumar Bose is also subjoined to show their affinity to Orissan architecture.

A list of corrections is attached on to the end of these notes.

Chapter IX. The author noticed an indifferent photograph of Hindol plate of Śubhākaradeva of the Kara family. This plate has, of late, been edited.* Śubhākaradeva of this plate was the son of Tribhuvana-mahādevī, born of Nāga dynasty, who has been identified with the personage of the same name of Dhenkanal Plate, the scribe (Harivarddhana) of which is identical with that of Chaurasi Grant of Śivakaradeva, whose father and grand-father have been taken for Śubhākaradeva and Śivakaradeva respectively of the Neurpur Grant. Apparently the rulers of the Kara family are put in the following chronological order



It is suggested that the queen, who ascended the throne after the death of Śubhākara as mentioned in the plate of Daṇḍīmahādevī, was Tribhuvana-Mahādevī. Śāntikara, the son of Lalitahāra of Daṇḍīmahādevī's plate has been omitted from the above table, because it is not probable that the immediate successor of Lalitahāra

* J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 69-83

alias Śantikara assumed the *Viruda* Śāntikara. Probably Śāntikara was the successor of Śubhākara, but not vice versa, as recorded in Daṇḍīmahādevi's plate.

Guheśvarapāṭaka, the place of issue of the grants of the Kara family has been identified with Godhaneśvara-patna, a part of Jajpur town, because the scribe of the Chaurasi grant was a resident of Virajā-kṣetra.

The village Noḍḍilo granted by the Hindol plate to Vaidyanātha-Bhaṭṭāraka has been identified with Nandel in the Hindol state and the village Saloaṇpura of the Neurpur grant has been taken for Solaṇapura lying on the north bank of the Vaitarani. The northern limit of Tosala has, therefore, been stretched beyond the Vaitarani while the author suggested that the Mahanadi formed the northern boundary line of Tosala.

Dharakota plate of Śubhākaradeva has been edited by Mr. S. Rajaguru in J. A. H. R. S. Vol IV pp. 189-194. This plate has not been correctly deciphered because of mutilation of the letters. It appears that the text of this plate is a replica of that of the Hindol plate. The village granted by this plate was situated in the Kongadamaṇḍala. Evidently Kongada was included in theKara territory before Daṇḍīmahādevi's reign.

Chapter XII. The plate of Neṭṭabhañja, noticed by the author, has been published recently.* Angula, the place of issue of this plate, has been identified with Anugula, the English pronunciation of which is now Angul. The unspecified year, contained in this plate has been read as 98 and at the same time it has been assumed that all the unspecified years, the numerals of which are represented in symbols, of the copper plates of Orissa belonged to Harsa era, because Śilāditya-Harṣavarddhana's supremacy over Orissa is proved by "The life of Heuen Tsiang" by Samuel Beal. To corroborate this assumption Rājamulla, the father of Tribhuvana Mahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate has been identified with Pallavamalla alias Kshatriyemalla, for the Pallavas are supposed to have belonged to Nāga race while according to Hindol plate Tribhuvana-Mahādevī's father came of a Nāga family. Apparently the year 98 of Neṭṭabhañja's plate corresponds to 704 A. D. Similarly the plates of Tribhuvana-Mahādevī, Śubhākaradeva II and Daṇḍīmahādevi are assigned to the 8th century A. D.

* J. B. O. S., Vol. XVII, pp. 104-118.

The reading of the year of the Chaurasi grant has been corrected as 93 which corresponds to 699 A. D.

Chapter XIII Kodālaka, whence the plates of the Śulki Rulers were issued, is now identifiable with Koālu on the north bank of the Brahmani in the Dhenkanal state. Other places mentioned in those plates, are also localised in the neighbourhood of Koālu. Śulki Rulers are represented in their grants as lords of the Gond people. Hence the states of Dhenkanal, Talcher, Bonai, Bamara and Gangpur, where the Gond people now predominate, are supposed to have formed the territory of the Śulki Rulers.

On the supposition that the Rulers, having the same text of eulogy in different plates, are one and the same person, the following chronology of the Śulki Rulers has been suggested.*

Kañchanastambha alias Ranastambha I
|
Kaṇadastambha alias Kulastambha I alias Vikramāditya
|
Raṇastambha II
|
Kulastambha II — Jayastambha, Nidayastambha

The villages granted by the Rulers of the Nanda family are localised in the tracts lying to the south of the Brahmani †. Apparently the states of Khandpara, Narasinghpur, Baramba and Hindol are supposed to have formed the territory of the Nanda Rulers.

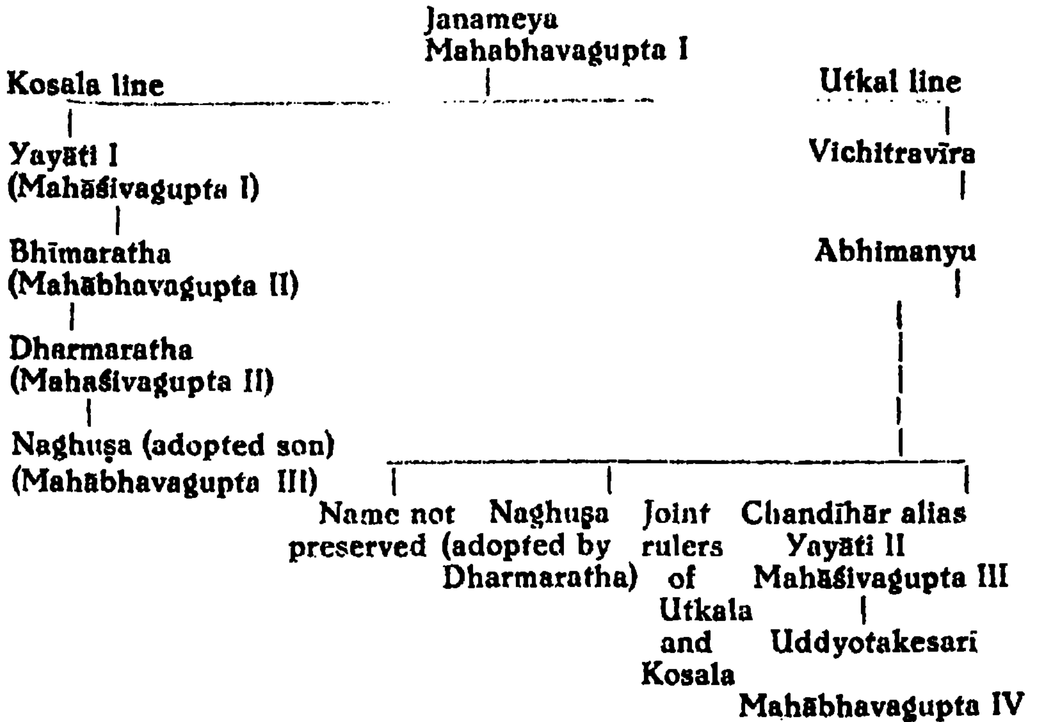
Chapter XIV. An important copper plate inscription of Uddyotakesari Mahābhavagupta has, very recently, been edited by Pandit Binayak Misra in J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XVII pp. 1-24. This plate was discovered at Balijhari in the Narasinghpur state. It records the gift of two villages Kontalaṇḍā and Lovākaradā in the Airāvaṭṭamaṇḍala of the Orḍi country to Śankar Śarmā and Balabhadra Śarmā, who were uterine brothers and immigrants from Palāsa in Tīrabhukti. They belonged to Gārga Gotra and were students of Ṛgveda. Kontalandā, Lovākaraḍā and Airāvaṭṭa are identified with Kantilo, Māradā and Raṭāgarh respectively situated on the southern bank of the Mahanadi.

The author was not inclined to accept Uddyotakesarī of Brahmeshwar Inscription as a descendant of Janamejaya of the Gupta family,

* *Modern Review*, September, 1931, pp. 288-290

† *Ibid.*, pp. 290-91

for there was some discrepancy in the geneology found in the published text of Brahmeshwar inscription. Now this discrepancy has been removed in the light of the text of the newly discovered plate. It has been suggested by the editor of this plate that Bhīmaratha and Dharmaratha should be read instead of Dīrgharava and Dharmapara respectively occurring in the Brahmeshwar inscription. Apparently we get the following pedigree of the Somavaṁśī Kings of Orissa after conciliating the two inscriptions of Uddyotakesarī.



The scribe of the Narasinghpur plate is Rudradatta who is taken as the same Rudradatta of the Marañjamurā charter of Yayāti. Evidently this Yayāti was the father of Uddyotakesarī.

We get from the Brahmeshwar inscription that Janameya killed the king of Orissa. It is recorded in the Narasinghpur plate that Dharmaratha was succeeded by his brother Naghuṣa, the ruler of the eastern country. Evidently Gupta rulers had supremacy over eastern Orissa.

On the supposition that the Gupta rule was overthrown by Chodagangadeva in the end of the 11th century A. D., Janameya is placed in the 1st decade of the 10th century A. D. Again Karṇyakesarī of Rāmapālacharita is supposed to be the descendant of Uddyotakesarī.

The Ratnagiri plate, edited by Mr. Narayan Tripathy B. A. (J. B. O



The 24 *Tirthankaras* and their Sāsana Devis
Bārabhūji Cave, Khandagiri — Puri District

R. S. Vol. XVI), is incomplete. This appears to be one of a set of plates belonging probably to Uddyotakesarī, for the text of this plate is a replica of that of Narasinghpur charter mentioned above.

Chapter XV. The following plates of early Ganga Rulers recently discovered are not noticed in the 1st volume of this work.

Santabommali plates of Indravarman has been edited by Rajah Bahadur Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeva in J. A. H. R. S. (Vol. IV pp. 21-24). This plate, recording the grant of the village Haribhaṭṭa in Kroṣṭukavarttani to Rameśvarabhaṭṭaraka, was issued from Kalinganagara. It was written by Vinayachandra son of Bhānuchandra. No date is mentioned. The donor was Indravarman alias Rājasiṁha.

Chidivalasa Grant of Devendravarman son of Bhupendravarman of the year 397 of the Ganga era has been edited by Mr. R. Subba Rao in J A. H. R. S. (Vol. II, pp. 146-153). By this plate Sividi in Kandalivāda was granted to Ādityabhaṭṭa, Yayubhaṭṭa and Sendidevabhaṭṭa of Bharadvaja Gotra. It was written by Muḍḥapa and Savvadapa under the supervision of Bhaṭṭa Sridhara and Bhaṭṭa-Yajña.

Jirjangi plate of Rājendravarman of the year 309 of the Ganga era, edited by Mr. R. Subba Rao (J. A. H. R. S. Vol. III, pp. 49-53), was issued from Dantapura, which is often mentioned in the Pali Literature as the capital of Kalinga. The object of this plate was to record the gift of the village Jijjika in Vonkāra. The donee was Agniswami son of Rudraswami belonging to Viṣṇuvṛddha Gotra and Taittiriya branch. It was engraved by Devasinghadeva.

Santha Bomvali copper-plate grant of Śrī-Manandavanman (probably Srīman-Indravarman) of the year 221 of the Ganga era, edited by Mr. S. Rajaguru (J. A. H. R. S. Vol. II, pp. 188-189) records the gift of Chikhalika in Fareyabhukti. The donees were Ādityaśarmā Matṛsarma and Duggaśarma of Kauṇḍilya Gotra.

A copper-plate grant of Madhukamarṇava has been noticed in the Madras Epigraphic Report of the year 1919. It contains the year 526 of the Ganga era. Madhukamarṇava was the father of Vajrahasta V, the father of Rajaraja. This Vajrahasta ascended the throne in Saka 960 or A. D. 1038. His immediate predecessor Madhukamarṇava ruled for 19 years. Apparently the Ganga era commenced either in the last quarter of the 5th century A. D. or in the 1st decade of the 6th century A. D. This newly discovered plate would no doubt set at rest all controversies as to the initial year of the Ganga era.

Chapter XXX, page 394.

Mr. P. Acharya has sent us the following note :

The Navamuni cave and the Barabhuji cave (twelve-handed, the name of the cave is due perhaps to the presence of the 12-handed goddess Durga cut in relief there) of Khandagiri contain the images of the Jain Tīrthañkaras in a row on the back wall and below the Tīrthañkaras there are the images of the Sapta Matṛika group including Ganeśa and Vīrabhadra according to Matsya Purana. This Matṛika group has been wrongly identified as Śasana-devīs or consorts of Tīrthañkaras in the District Gazetteer of Puri, (Calcutta 1908, by L. S. S. O' Malley pp. 261-62). Two group of images of the caves seem to belong to the same period and therefore it is difficult to explain the purpose of placing the icons of two antagonistic faiths of religion in a common place of worship.

Note on the temples of Telkupi, Manbhum.

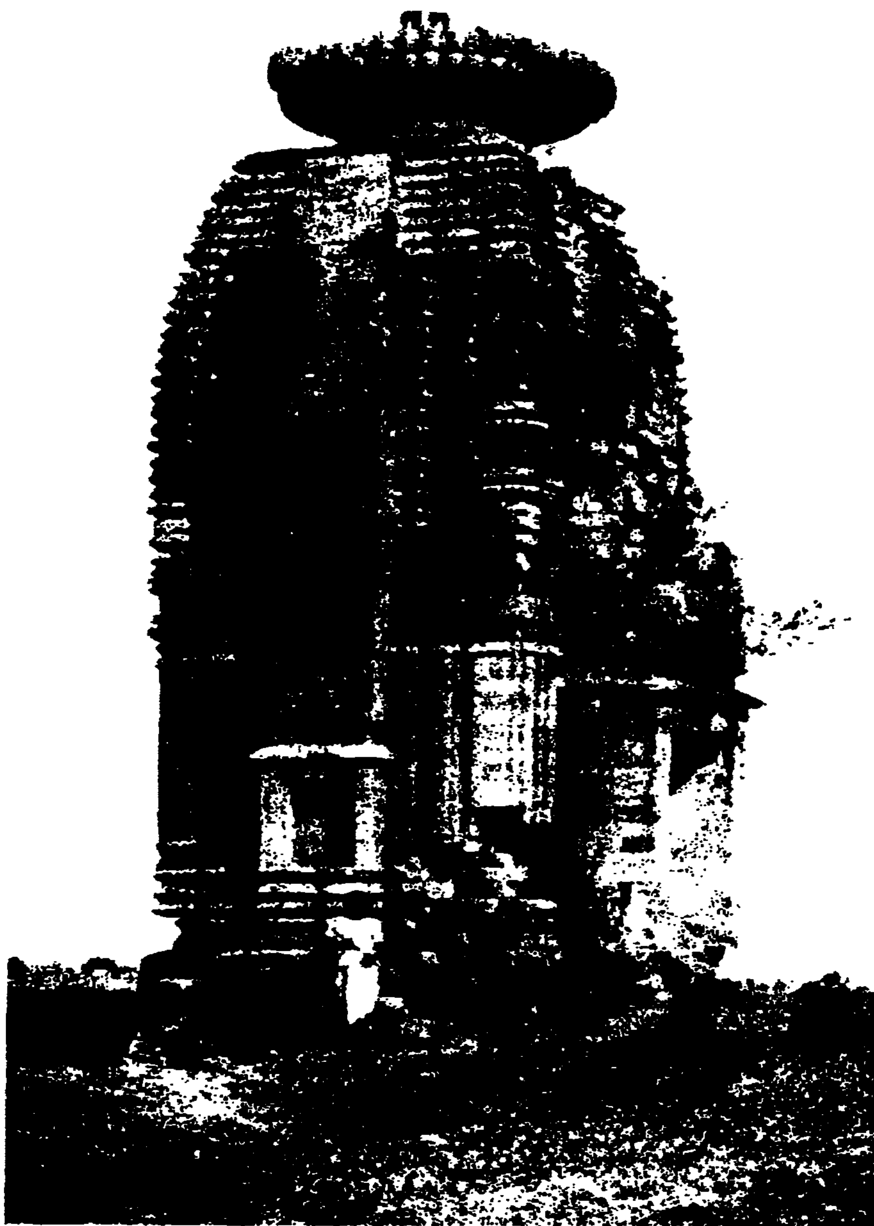
The village of Telkupi is situated on the right bank of the Damodar in the district of Manbhum (23°39′N-86°38′E). There are about a dozen temples of the *rekha (nāgara)* type in this place, but they present certain points of difference from the Orissan type, It is however not possible to say how far the style of this place was directly borrowed from Orissa. From certain structural details it rather appears that both Telkupi and Orissa borrowed from a common source and then each gave a distinctive turn to the form of the temple. The intimacy between Telkupi and Orissa probably increased at a later stage in history. The two temples at Bhairab-thān in Telkupi, which are of a comparatively recent date, present more points of resemblance with the later temples of Orissa than those of earlier age.

The *bāṛa* of one of the temples at Bhairab-thān is composed of five elements, *viz. pābhāga, tāla jāngha, bāndhanā, upar jāngha* and *baranda.* It is a rule in the case of the later temples of Orissa that erotic couples should be placed in niches in the *upar jāngha* and *virāla* figures in corresponding places of the *tala jāngha.* In the case of the above temple at Bhairab-thān, the order of the *virāla* and erotic figures has been reversed and both sets accomodated in the *tala jāngha,* leaving the *upaṛ jāngha* bare. This was probably due to the artist's lack of familiarity with

the rules current in Orissa. This absence of *virāla* figures and of the five-fold construction of the *bāṛa* in the rest of the temples of Telkupi definitely prove the above two traits to be exotic in their origin. These features, as well as the presence of a flying lion *(jhappā singha)*, in the style of Orissa, on the *jagamohan* at Bhairab-thān definitely connect the later history of this locality with that of Orissa.

Further proof of such connection is also furnished by the nature of a certain religious ceremony observed in this particular area. The village of Telkupi lies in the zemindary of the Raja of Panchakote, who lives in the village of Kashipur near Adra. On the first day of the Bengali year (1st of Vaisakha), a ceremony is performed in the middle of the river-bed at Telkupi. Two umbrellas, made of bamboo, are adorned with garlands of *keṣ* flowers and carried in procession with music to the river-bed. There they are set up in the sand with due ceremonies, when goats are sacrificed and cakes (*piṭhā*) are offered. One of the umbrellas is dedicated on behalf of the "rajah of Kashipur," and the other in the name of the "*gajapati sing* of Puri." This was reported to the present writer, about two years ago, by an old man named Rakhal Bhandari (aged about 60) of Telkupi, who is himself a priest connected with local ceremonies. It is said that soon after the umbrellas have been posted in the ground, there arises a storm which sweeps away the umbrellas, garlands and everything which is placed there. This is supposed to signify the formal acceptance of the gifts by the deity worshipped.

A particular ceremony and certain details of architecture and sculpture thus offer proofs of a more intimate



A *rekha* temple at Telkupi, Manbhum

connection between the Damodar valley at Manbhum with Orissa than what is to be found at present.

It may not be uninteresting to point out in this connection that on the door of a temple at Boṛeā in the district of Ranchi (6 miles N. of Ranchi) is carved the figure of a mythical animal, which is called *nabagunjara* in Orissa. Its body is composed of the limbs of nine animals. viz. the elephant. bull, snake, peacock etc. In the Oriya Mahabharata of Sarala Das (16th cent.), it is said that Krishna once appeared to Arjuna in that form. The figure of the *nabagunjara* is not to be found anywhere outside Orissa. It is of such a complex nature that we cannot think of its having been invented independently by the artist of Boṛeā. It is therefore probable that some artist familiar with recent mythological figures of Orissa must have carved it upon the wooden door of the Boṛeā temple. This does not lead us far, still the fact deserves to be mentioned in connection with the present question.

CORRECTIONS.

VOLUME I.

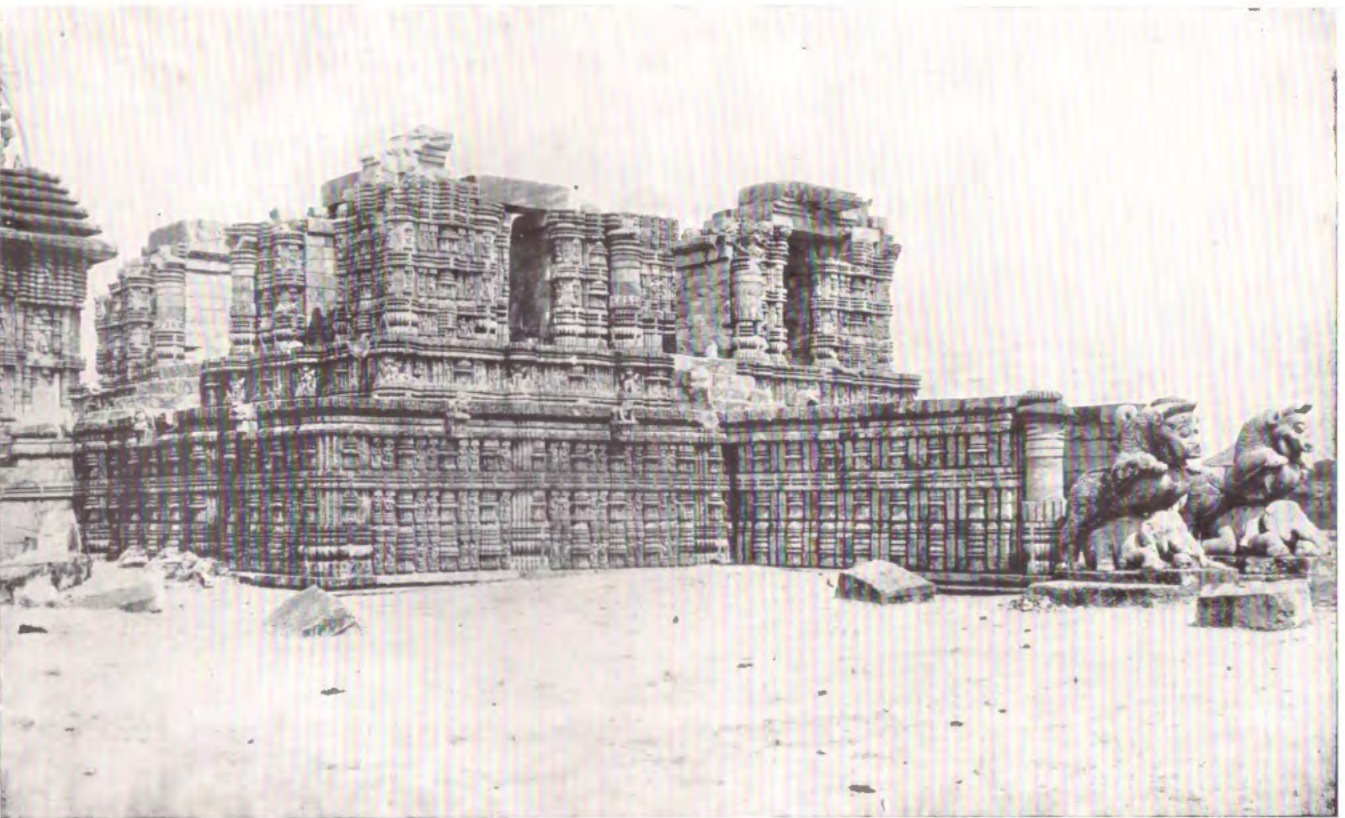
Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
3	6	„ Barabalang	„ Buḍhabalanga
15	31	„ Susāris	„ Sulras
18	14-15	„ Gauṛās	„ Gauḍas
18	20	„ Kāndras	„ Kanḍarās
24	14 &31	„ Gauṛās	„ Gauḍas
25	18	„ Kindras	„ Kanḍarās
25	plate	„ at Mayurbhanj	„ at Baidyapur, Mayurbhanj
26	8	„ Gauḍās	„ Gauḍas
29	plate	„ in Orissa	„ at Baidyapur, Mayurbhanj
32	do	do	do
33	15	„ ot	„ of
34	16&26	„ Bangidiposi	„ Bāngiriposi
37	15	„ age	„ edge
71	5	„ In	„ It
105	31	„ mcnoliths	„ monoliths
109	15	„ are not	„ are
115	21	„ Karond	„ Kalahandi
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336	13	„ Amratirtha	„ Ekāmra-tirtha
348	6	„ 1578	„ 1568.

CORRECTIONS.

VOLUME II.

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26	Foot-note	*Gazeteer*	*Gazetteer*
35	27	„ Kabul	„ Kabul [5]
38	19	„ Kudla	„ Kodala Athagada
40	13	„ 1666	„ 1656
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46	12,28	„ 1660	„ 1661
47	10	„ Kuyila	„ Koili
47	11	„ Kulrah	„ Kodala Athagada
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60	9	„ Harachandra	„ Harichandana
74,87,146	Foot-note	„ *Asiatick*	„ *Asiatic*
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157	17	„ Kullu	„ Kantilo
175	21	Wakil	Vakil
203	Foot-note	„ *Delation*	„ *Relation*
204	18	„ December	„ December 1814
208	25	„ Chaira	„ Chiara
208	30	„ Bheraje	„ Paharāja
212	16	„ Tappore	„ Patpore
212	17	„ Ghota	„ Khunta (Coota)
213	16	„ Coontau	Khunta (Coontah)
214	2	do	do
219	11	„ Rain	„ Rohini
223	3	„ Gillah Rattah	„ Gilakantia (Gillahkatiah)
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229	15	„ Jhumrapal	„ Jamirapal
229	16	„ Dip Kiarchand	„ Dipakiarchand
230	28	„ Karnakar, Wakil	Karunakar, the Vakil
271	16	„ sixth	„ first
271	16	„ Treaty, etc.	„ Treaty, etc., of 1892
271			„ 23, Narsingpur

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
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273	18	„ assistthe	„ assist the
274	19	„ Bowney's	„ Bowrey's
274	29	„ Angul	„ Keonjhar
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371	2	„ is	„ It is
385	15-16	omit serves only as a quarry for railways and	
387	19	„ Ratnagiri and	„ Ratnagiri of
407	28	„ Vaitiā Deul	„ Vaitāl Deul
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General View of the Plinth—Sūrya Deul
Konārak—Puri District

HISTORY OF ORISSA

CHAPTER XXIII

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE PATHANS AND THE MUGHALS

The struggle between the Afghans and the Mughals was prolonged from 1576, the date of the death of Dāūd Shāh Kararānī at the battle of Rajmahal, to the final return of Rājā Mān Singh from the north-eastern *Ṣubāhs* in 1606. The first separate *Ṣubāhdār* for Orissa was not appointed till 1607 in the reign of the Emperor Nūruddīn Jahāngir. All accounts ascribe the Musalman conquest of Orissa to Sulāimān Kararānī.[1] As the Mughal army arrived on the borders of Orissa only eight years after the fall of the last of the real *Gajapatis*, the Afghans had no time to consolidate themselves in Orissa. After the battle of Rajmahal they practically became the hunted and the Mughals the hunters, though the general apathy and neglect of the Mughal officers permitted them to linger on in Orissa and south-eastern Bengal till the end of Akbar's reign. Mughal rule in Orissa can hardly be said to have begun during the life time of Akbar. From 1576 till the death of the great Emperor in 1605, nearly thirty years were spent by Mughal officers of Bengal in trying to stamp out the rebellious spirit of the Afghans in that province and in Orissa. In the course of Mun'im Khān Khān-i-Khānān's war with the Afghans of Bengal we hear first of all that

[1] *Dorn's History of the Afghans, London 1829, p. 181; Akbarnāmā, Eng. Trans. pp. 933-34.*

Khān Jahān Lodi governed Orissa for Dāūd.[1] During the period of internal dissensions between the Mughal officers in Bengal, Dāūd tried to regain his independence and the Khān-i-Khānān was compelled to march to Chittua in the Medinipur district as Dāūd had arrived at Haripur. The Mughal army entered Orissa by another route and foiled Dāūd's attempts to block the road by entrenchment. Dāūd was defeated in the ensuing engagement at Tukaroi on the 3rd March 1575.[2] The name of the battle-field is given as Bajhorah, Bachhorah, Bashorh or Bachhorh in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* and *Mantkhab-ut-Tawārīkh*. In the *Akbarnāmā* and *Ma'aṣir-ul-'Umarā* it is called Takarohi or Takaroi. Blochmann identified it correctly with Moghulmari on the road from Medinipur to Jalesar. Tukaroi (spelt Tookaroe) lies two miles from Moghulmari on the south bank of the Suvarṇarekhā (*'Ain*, Eng. trans. Vol. I. pp. 375-76). Rājā Toḍar Mall and Shāham Khān were sent in pursuit of Dāūd. That unfortunate monarch was joined by Jahān Khān and taken to Katak. Dāūd sent Fattū, Shaikh Niẓām and other officers to treat. The Khān-i-Khānān sent Hāshim Khān and Qutluq Qadam Khān to settle the terms of peace. The summary of the terms of peace were that Dāūd should come and accept service under the Mughals after sending his best elephants and other presents. After serving for some time he was to appear in Court. For the time being one of his relatives was to act as his representative. Dāūd appeared before Mun'im Khān on the 12th April 1575, presented some good

1 *Ibid., p. 173.*

2 *Ibid., pp, 175-80.*

elephants and handed over his nephew Shaikh Muḥammad the son of Bāyazid as hostage.[1]

The next step was the decisive battle of Rajmahal on the 12th July 1576 when Khān-i-Jahān and Rājā Toḍar Mall defeated the Afghans, captured Dāūd and sent his head to Akbar. The Afghans were now divided in opinion and without a crowned head of their own race to guide them. They fought under many leaders and some of them rebelled repeatedly even after taking service under the Mughals. The aversion of the Mughal officers to the province of Bengal helped the Afghans, but Mughal officers had to continue to serve in spite of repeated representations to Court for transfer elsewhere. What Abul Fazl terms "the rebellion of Bengal officers" was really another Afghan war during the reign of Akbar. This rebellion took place in 1580 and the account given in the *Ākbarnāmā* shows that Bengal was being occupied by the Mughals from a number of strong outposts, but there was practically no government. So we hear that the "The ringleaders of the Bengal rebellion were Bābā Khān Jabbarī and Wazīr Jāmil, but S'aid Toqbāi M. Ḥāji Lang, Arab' Bakhshi, Ṣāleḥ, Mirāki Khān, Murtaẓā Qūli Turkmān and Farrakh Irghāliq nourished the flame. Qiyā Khān in Orissa, Murād Khān in Fatḥābād and Shāh Bardi in Sonārgāon, spoke about conquering but had not the grace of doing good service."[2] The language of the Court historiographer of Akbar rendered into plain English means that when the Afghan officers rose in rebellion against the Mughals, Qiyā Khān and other Mughal officers did not make any

1 *Ibid., pp. 183-85.*

2 *Ibid., p. 429.*

serious attempt to quell it, but remained practically besieged in their strongholds. Muẓaffar Khan, the *Ṣubāhdār* of Bengal, after the death of Khān-i-Jahān, removed Khāldīn Khān from the fief of Jaleswar and assigned it to Mīr Jamāluddīn Ḥussain Ānju, which gave great offence. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* says that Khāldīn was scourged while the *Iqbālnāmā-i-Jāhāngīrī* says that Khāldīn was insulted and ill-treated by Mīrzā Nijāt, a son-in-law of Muẓaffar.[1] Subsequently, after the death of Muẓaffar Khān, Khān-i-'Aẓam Kokaltāsh Khān was sent to Bengal.[2] The siege of Patna and connected events have only a distant connection with the history of Orissa. During this rebellion Qiyā Khān was poisoned and Qatlū Khān Lohānī marched against Mīrzā Nijāt Khān at Sātgāon, who had to fly to the Portuguese, Tavares, who was formerly in Mughal service. Qatlū advanced into the heart of western Bengal and defeated the force under Hamzabān, sent by Bābāi Qāqshal to the relief of Nijāt Khān, at Mangalkot in the northern part of the Burdwan district.[3] When Khān-i-'Aẓam joined the army near Patna many of the rebels left Bihar. In the 28th year of the reign of Akbar (1583) Khān i-'Aẓam advanced towards Bengal. At this time Qatlū Khān Lohānī was prominent in Orissa and had also occupied a portion of Bengal. Ma'sūm Khān Kābulī entered into a league with Qatlū to defend Afghan dominions against the fresh advance of the Mughals.[4] Another important man on the Afghan side connected with this

1 *Ibid., p. 430 and Note 1.*

2 *Ibid., p. 454.*

3 *Ibid., pp. 469-70.*

4 *Ibid., p. 590.*

campaign was Kālāpāhāḍ, *alias* Kālidās Gajadānī—according to Mr. H. E. Stapleton—who was the reputed conquerer of Orissa. Ma'sum Khān appointed him to command the flotilla in the battle of Garhi.[1] The Afghans submitted to Khān-i-'Azam and joined the Mughals against Mā'sum Khān. Then Shāhbāz Khan was sent to Bengal, as Khān-i-'Aẓam openly declined to stay any longer in that country. The Mughal army now proceeded against Qatlū.[2] Qatlū Khān was defeated and Ma'sūm Khān and his confederates fled. Qatlū now sent envoys to treat and Orissa was promised to him if he submitted and accepted service.

Abu'l Fazl openly states that as Khān-i-'Aẓam's heart was set on returning from Bengal immediately, he left the negotiations to Wazīr Khān and left for Hajipur near Patna, his own *Jāgir*. As soon as Khān-i-'Aẓam had left, Qatlū Khān proposed impossible conditions, which the Mughals could not accept. The Mughals were unprepared for battle, and though they drew up their forces at Sherpur Atai in the Murshidabad district, they were compelled to add Madaran (Jahanabad sub-division of the Hooghly district), Medinīpur and other places in Orissa, to be left in possession of Qatlū Khān. Qatlū was still playing with the Mughal officers. At first he agreed to send his nephew as a hostage but later on failed to meet Ṣādiq Khān who had gone to meet him. It was some time before the Mughal officers woke up to the fact that Qatlū Khān Lohānī was gaining time by those stratagems. So from Burdwan they crossed the river Dāmodar and found Qatlū firmly planted in the modern districts of Howrah and

1 *Ibid., p. 592.*

2 *Ibid. p. 594.*

Medinipur.[1] Shāhbāz Khān now wrote to his officers from Ṭāṇḍā stating that, as Qatlū was not strong enough to face the imperialists in the field, some of them had better join the army which was opposing Mā'sūm Khān on the Jamnā (the old Jamna near Gobardanga and other places in the 24 parganas). Accordingly Wazīr Khān and a number of officers remained in Orissa and Ṣādiq Khān with others came to Bengal.[2] Mā'sūm Khān was again defeated in the battle of the Jamunā by Shāhbāz Khān (15th November 1583) and the Mughals finally reached Ghoraghat. While Shāhbāz Khān pursued Ma'sūm Khān into Mymensingh, one Jabbarī escaped from Coochbihar to Ghoraghat. As the country between Ghoraghat and Medinipur was empty of Mughal troops he succeeded in occupying Tajpur, Purneah and Ṭāṇḍā, thus dividing the Mughals into two parts.[3] Wazīr Khān, who had been left in charge of the army in Orissa, remained at Burdwan and it was only when Ṣādiq Khān arrived that Qatlū, tired of waiting, broke camp and retired to Orissa. The Mughals pursued him and caught him up at Tukaroi, the scene of Dāūd's discomfiture nine years earlier. In desperation Qatlū took refuge in the forest of Dharmpur. The Mughal officers began to treat with him and Qatlū presented sixty elephants and sent his nephew. The hostage and the envoys arrived at Court on the 11th June, 1584. Orissa was left entirely to the Afghans and Ṣādiq Khān was sent to Patna and Wazīr Khān to Ṭāṇḍā.[4]

[1] *Ibid., pp. 600-2*
[2] *Ibid., p. 625*
[3] *Ibid., p. 625*
[4] *Ibid., pp. 653-54*

Within a short time Shāhbāz Khān also became tired of Bengal and strenuously attempted to return to Court. Akbar sent Sazāwāls to make him return to his province, where Ma'sūm Khān Kābuli and 'Isā Khān of Sonārgāon had joined hands. Both of them submitted and though many Afghans left Qatlū Khān he was left quietly in possession of Orissa. The Akbarnāmā at this stage describes a Mughal campaign in a country called Kokra, which is described as being situated between Orissa and the Deccan and which Beveridge proposes to identify with Chhota Nagpur, which is clearly inadmissible.[1]

The next campaign in Orissa was undertaken by the Kachhwaha Rājā Mān Singh of Ambar. After settling Bihar, Mān Singh invited Sa'id Khan, the *Ṣubahdar* of Bengal, to join him in an invasion in Orissa, which the latter refused. Mān Singh, with Pāhār Khān, Rāi Pātradās and others from Bengal, reached Jahānābād *via* Burdwan. Qatlū Khān prepared for battle and arrived within fifty miles of the Mughal camp. Bahādur Kurūh was sent with a large force to Raipur in the Bankura district and Mān Singh sent his own son Jagat Singh to meet him. The drunkard Jagat Singh was caught napping and his army annihilated. The discomfitted Mughals wanted to retire to Salimābād but were prevented by Mān Singh. At this stage Qatlū Khān died suddenly and the Afghans were disheartened. Khwājah 'Isā placed Qatlū's young son on *Masnad* and sent envoys to treat. It was decided that "the *khuṭbā* and coinage should be in the name of Shāhinshāh and the Afghans would be obedient and serviceable. Also that Jagannātha, which is a famous

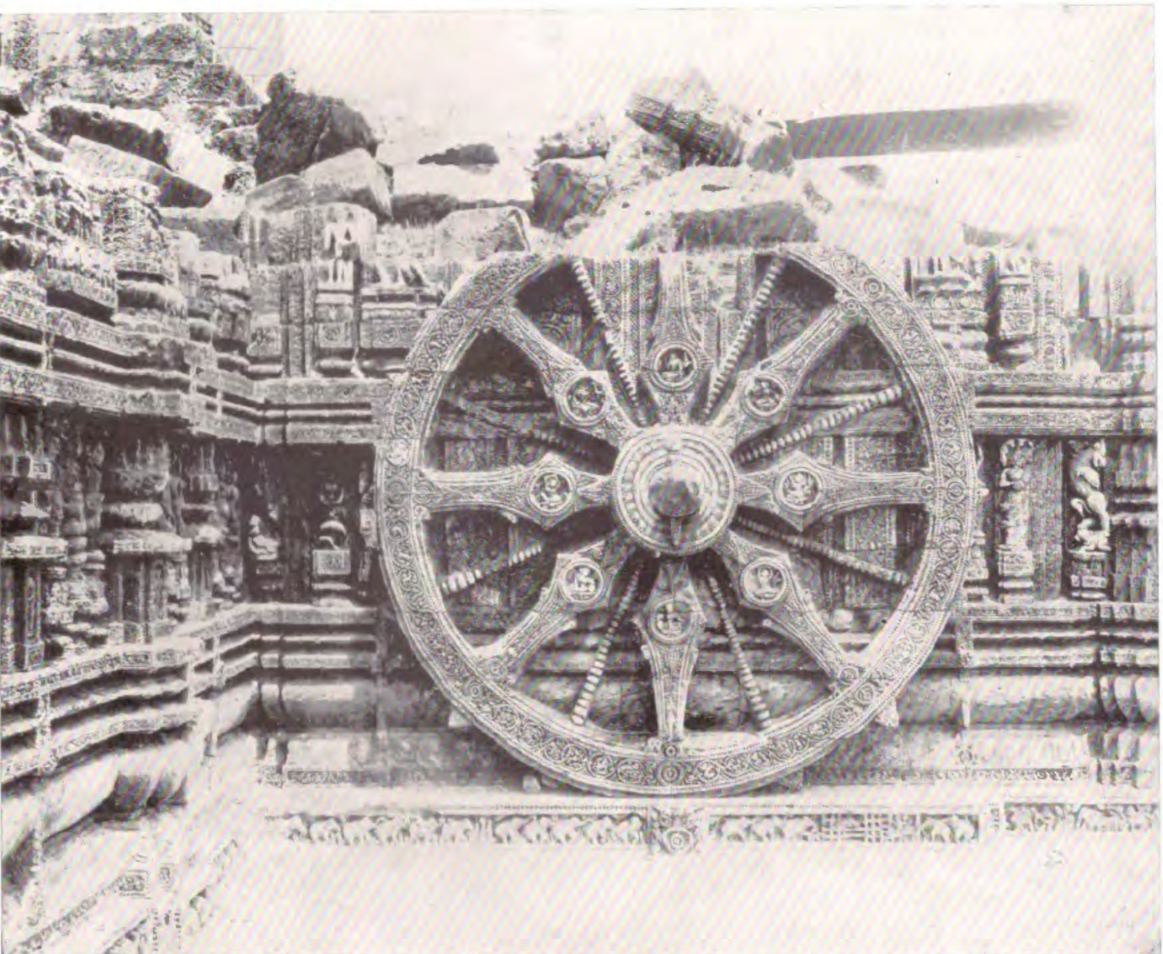
[1] *Ibid., pp. 721-22*

temple, and its environs should be made crown-land, and that no harm should happen to the loyal zamindars... ... ... On 4 Shahriyar Khwājah 'Isā brought Qatlū's son to the Rājah and presented 150 elephants and other choice articles. Mān Singh encouraged him and returned to Bihar."[1]

Afghan opposition in Orissa did not come to an end with the death of the brave Qatlū Khan Lohānī. It continued for some years after the peace of 1590. The peace was maintained by the Afghans so long as Khwājah 'Isā was alive. Immediately after his death, they captured and desecrated the temple of Jagannātha and attacked Hamīr Singh of Vishṇupur. Mān Singh joined the armies of Bihar and Bengal and started by the water route (? sea) while many others advanced by way of Jhārkhaṇḍ under Yūsuf Khān Chakk, the former king of Kashmīr. Sa'id Khan of Bengal joined Mān Singh later on. The Afghans tried to treat and the Bengal officers were inclined to listen to them. The former entrenched their position and as the Bengal officers could not agree with Mān Singh, they sat down at a distance. The engagement took place at Mālnāpur, which, according to Beames, is on the Suvarṇarekhā, now in the Balasore district. The Afghans came out of their entrenchment and engaged the Mughals. More than three hundred of them fell and they had to retire. The entire Afghan nobility seems to have gathered to oppose the advance of the Mughals, as the Akbarnāmā mentions Nāṣim Khān and Jamāl Khān, the sons of Qatlū, Jalāl Khān Khāṣākhel, Bahādur Kurūh and 'Uṣmān.[2] After this unexpected

[1] *Ibid., pp. 878-80.*

[2] *Ibid., pp. 934-36.*



Position of one of the Wheels on the Plinth—Surya Deul
Konārak—Puri District

victory the Mughals arrived at Jaleśvar and struck coins in the name of the Emperor Akbar. Sa'id Khan of Bengal retired with his forces. The landowners of northern Orissa began to submit and in the town of Bhadrak news was received that the sons of Qatlū and other leaders had taken refuge in the fort of Katak. This fort is not Barabati of the Mughal period but Sarangarh, about four or five miles south of Katak. It is at this stage that we are introduced to Rāmachandra for the second time, who is mentioned as Rām Cand, the founder of the house of Khurda by Abu'l Fazl. We are informed that Sarangarh belonged to Rām Cand, who was one of the great landholders of the country. Mān Singh entered Katak and captured Sarangarh, compelling the Afghans to take refuge in the forests near the sea. Alāwā Khān, the Khāṣkhel of Qatlū Khān, surrendered the strong fort of Al to the Mughals and Rām Cand gave shelter to those who had taken protection in Sarangarh fort. Mān Singh won over Rāmchandra, who sent his son Birbal with presents. Another Oṛiyā chief, called the Ṭilā Rājāh, surrendered to the Mughals at Kalkalghati. Mān Singh left Yūsuf Khān Chakk, the Kashmiri, in charge of Katak and went on a pilgrimage to Puri. In the meanwhile Fatḥ Khān of Hijli and Ḥabi Khān, Daryā Khān, Sujāwal Khān, and Mewā Khān attacked Jaleśvar and compelled Bābuī Mankli, the renegade Afghan of Bengal, to evacuate that city. Mān Singh sent Pāhār Khān and others against Fatḥ Khān and Jaleśvar was re-occupied. The Afghans now surrendered and waited upon Mān Singh.[1]

The final conquest of Orissa by the Mughals under

[1] *Ibid., pp. 940-41.*

Mān Singh inaugurated a new era in the political history of the country by the establishment of a new dynasty of Hindu Kings in that country under the suzerainty of the Mughal emperors. Rāmāi Rāotrā or Rāmachandra Deva succeeded in persuading or bribing the Mughal general into nominating him as the *Gajapati* under peculiar circumstances. The origin of the new Hindu King is obscure. According to one account he was the son of Dānāi Vidyādhara, the minister of some of the kings of the Bhoi dynasty. He is said to have come from the south and seized the western part of the Puri district and fixed its capital at Khurda. His reign is calculated from 1568-69 or the year after the death of Mukunda Harichandana.[1] According to another account Rāmachandra was related to the Bhoi kings and for this reason he became the Superintendent of the temple[2] *(parikshā).* Stirling's account, which is the earlier, states : "The Uria historians go on to relate that at the expiration of twenty-one years of anarchy and inter-regnum, the ministers and the principal men of the country beginning to recover from their depression and alarm, assembled together to consult about the affairs of the nation, and chose as their chief a person named Ranai *(Rāmāi)* Raotra, son of the before mentioned Danaye Bidyadhar, whom they raised to the rank and dignity of Maha Rajah of Orissa, A. D., 1580, under the title of Ramchander Deo. With him begins the third and titular race of Sovereigns called the Bhoi Vamsa, or Zemindari race."[3] So, what was represented to Sterling

1 *Bengal District Gazetteer Puri, p. 46.*

2 *Ibid., p. 111.*

3 *Asiatic Researches Vol. XV, pp. 290-91.*

in 1825 as the election of a king by the people of Orissa after twenty-one years of anarchy, became in 1908 a direct succession to the throne for Rāmachandra Deva after the death of Mukunda Harichandana in 1568, in the hands of unscrupulous Oṛiyā compilers. The compiler of the gazetteer states in a special foot-note that "This account of the dynasty has been compiled from the palm-leaf chronicles, checked and supplemented by the information in Muhammadan and other histories."[1] The next sentence in Stirling's account casts the gloom of inconsistency over his narrative of the accession of Rāmchandra, because we are informed that this election was confirmed by "Sewai Jye Sinh, the general of the Emperor Akbar, who came into the province about the time, with his army, to look after the imperial interest." Neither the *Āin-i-Ākbarī* nor the *Ākbarnāmā* mention any Mughal general of that name, who came to Orissa during the reign of Akbar, nor do they mention any Jai Singh among the *Manṣabdārs* of Akbar's court. Jai Singh I, Mīrzā Rājah, was a general of Shāh Jahān I and Aurangzīb 'Ālamgīr ; Sawāī Jai Singh or Jai Singh II, the founder of the modern city of Jaipur, was a contemporary of the emperors Farrukhsiyar (1713-19) and Muḥammad Shāh (1719-48). Therefore, none of them could be the contemporary of Akbar. This irrelevancy makes the entire statement of Stirling about the election of Rāmāi Rāotrā, son of Dānāi Vidyādhara, as Gajapati Rāmachandra Deva of Orissa by the grandees of the country in 1580, entirely untrustworthy.

According to a third account this Rāmachandra was the son of one Vīra Behara of the Bhoi dynasty. It is

[1] *Note to p., 45.*

stated that when the images of Jagannātha, Subhadrā and Balarāma were carried away to Bengal, one Visara Mahānti followed the image of Jagannātha to Bengal and recovered the holy relic or *Brahma-śarīra* from it. It is perhaps not generally known that some relic is kept in a hollow in the image of Jagannātha and this is placed in a new image, when the old one is changed, by a priest, who is blindfolded. The images of Jagannātha, etc., are made of *Nīm* wood and require periodical renewal and at such times the holy object is taken from the old image and put inside the new. The story of the recovery of the holy object by Visara Mahānti may or may not be true. Rāmachandra seems to have made new images and installed them in the temple after producing the real holy relic or a faked one. Iconoclasts like Kālāpāhāḍ never leave their work of destruction incomplete, and, therefore, it is extremely difficult to believe that he left the wooden images partially burnt and thus permitted Visara Mahānti of Oṛiyā tradition to recover the *Brahma-śarīra*.

These conflicting accounts of the origin of Rāmachandra I of Khurda, prove that the accounts kept in the Puri temple are compilations later in date than Rāmachandra. Rai Bahadur Ramā Prasād Chanda has found out the correct date of the *Mādalā Pāñji* account of the origin of Rāmachandra I of Khurda. "Bhawani Charan has recorded that in the second *Aṅka* or the first year of the reign of Rāmachandra Deva of Khurda the Rājah ordered Vaṭeswar Mahānti to compile the annals. . . . .But the history of the reign of Rāmachandra Deva must have been compiled long after and by persons who could not even definitely ascertain the father's name of that king. We have, there-

fore, rather a distorted version of the history of Rāmachandra Deva in the Puri annals."[1] Chanda has proved definitely that Rāmachandra was not created a chief of Orissa by the Mughals. Somehow or other he had managed to obtain possession of the fort of Sarangarh when Rājā Mān Singh invaded Orissa in 1590. Mān Singh's Hindu sympathies and the end of the turbulent Pathan rule encouraged Hindu chiefs to come forward and claim the title *Gajapati*. One of the claimants was Rāmachandra, a son of the last real Gajapati, Mukunda Harichandana. Rāmachandra of Khurda had at first sided against the Mughals and even fought with Mān Singh but eventually he had to submit. Mān Singh's first expedition to Orissa failed to break the spirit of the turbulant Afghans. In 1592 Rāmachandra was asked to attend the Court of the *Ṣubāhdār* of Orissa, but he refused as he had sent his son. Mān Singh sent Jagat Singh with a number of Mughal officers against him. Rāmachandra took refuge in his fort of Khurda, where he was besieged, and the neighbouring forts were captured by the Mughals ; but the war was apparently stopped by Akbar from the capital and Mān Singh recalled his troops. Then Rāmachandra was persuaded to pay his respects to Rājā Mān Singh. Mān Singh had given *Jāgira* to Khwājah Sulaimān, Khwājah 'Uṣmān, Sher Khān and Ḥaibat Khan in *sarkār* Khalifatābād in Bengal (Jessore and Khulna districts) but later on, he confiscated their *Jāgirs* and asked them to come to his presence. The Afghans were approaching Kharagpur when they heard the news and rebelled. They

[1] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society 1927, Vol. XIII, p. 27.*

approached Sātgāon but could not capture it. They then turned eastward and went to Bhūshaṇā in the Jessore district. Chānd Rāi, son of Kedār Rāi, attempted to capture the Afghans but failed and was killed in the attempt. From Bhūshaṇā the Afghans proceeded eastwards and joined 'Isā Khān of Bhati or the part of the Ganges *Doāb* below Sonārgāon. Abul Fazl states that it was at this time that the fort of Mānpur, between Orissa and Telinganā, was taken by Rājā Mān Singh and given to Rāmachandra Deva of Khurda.

The account given in the *Mādalā Pāñji* about the Mughal recognition of Rāmachandra Deva is altogether different :—"In the 12th *Āṅka* (10th year) of Rāmachandra Deva a son of Telinga Mukunda Deva complained to the Pādshā of Delhi. The Pādshā sent Rājā Mān Singh to Orissa saying, 'He who is the leader *(nāeka)* of Orissa should be made the Rājā (of Orissa).' Rājā Mān Singh came to Puri accompanied by the son of Mukunda Deva. Rāmachandra Deva met him. When the *Chandana Yātrā* was celebrated, the priests asked Mān Singh, 'Whom should we give the *gadi prasāda*, share of offerings to the God due to the occupant of the *gadī* or throne' ? Mān Singh had then by him both Rāmachandra Deva and the son of Mukunda Deva. He looked at both and said to the priests, 'Bring the *gadī prasāda*'. The priests brought the *gadī prasāda* accordingly. In the presence of the goddess Bimalā, Rājā Mān Singh offered the *gadī prasāda* to Rāmchandra Deva, and made him Rājā of Orissa. He conferred Al on the son of Mukunda Deva. Thus was the kingdom divided."[1]

[1] *Ibid.*, *vv.* 24-25.

This account, published for the first time, through the favour of the present Rājā of Khurda, shows that Rāmchandra Deva I obtained recognition as *Gajapati* through the personal favour of Rājā Mān Singh and not by valour or position. He was a creation of the Mughal General and had no real claim to sovereignty in any form over any part of Orissa. According to Mughal policy Teliṅga Rāmachandra, the son of Mukunda Harichandana, should have been recognised as the *Gajapati* after the expulsion of the Afghans. Rājā Mān Singh was a strict business man and he never showed any favour to anybody unless it benefited him personally or his master, the Mughal Emperor. His manipulation of the *gadi-prasāda* in favour of Rāmachandra of Khurda was manisfestly obtained by bribery. Yet, by recognising Rāmachandra Deva, he did not harm the Mughal Empire, as he left the yet unconquered Southern portion of Orissa only to the new *Gajapati.* Mughal recognition helped Rāmachandra I to obtain the suzerainty of the Garhjāt Chiefs, however perfunctory, till it was snatched away by the Marathas.

Rāmachandra Deva organised the worship in the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. Stirling says, "Khurdah with Pursottem Chetter and certain Mehals, were assigned in Zemindari tenure, free of all tribute, to Ramachandra Deva, with the title of Maha Raja, and the Musselman dignity of the commandership or sovereignty over, and to collect tribute from, 129 of the Killahs or jurisdiction of the Khetris of Orissa, including all the present Cuttack tributary Mehals south of the Mahanadi, and the Estates of Gumser, Moherry, etc., reaching as far as the borders of Kimedy in Ganjam. Killah Al, with its dependencies, was

assigned as a Zemindari to Ramachander, the eldest son of Telinga Mukund Deo, and Sarengerh on the same tenure to the second son Chakauri Bhowerber, Both were acknowledged as Rajas, and had the control of a number of the Killahjat Estates in different parts of the district,"[1] Inspite of his installation by a Mughal Viceroy, Rāmachandra Deva's successors became the quarry of each and every Mughal officer in Orissa, Hindu or Musalman, till the cession of the province to the Marathas in 1751.

Mā'sum Khān Kābulī died on the 10th May 1599.[2] Qatlū Khān's son was defeated by Rājā Mān Singh at Sherpur Atai in the Murshidabad district of Bengal.[3] Rājā Mān Singh returned to Court from Bengal and Orissa in 1605 and tendered 1,000 mohurs and 12,000 silver rupees as *naẓar.* He also brought numerous elephants from the north-eastern provinces,[4]

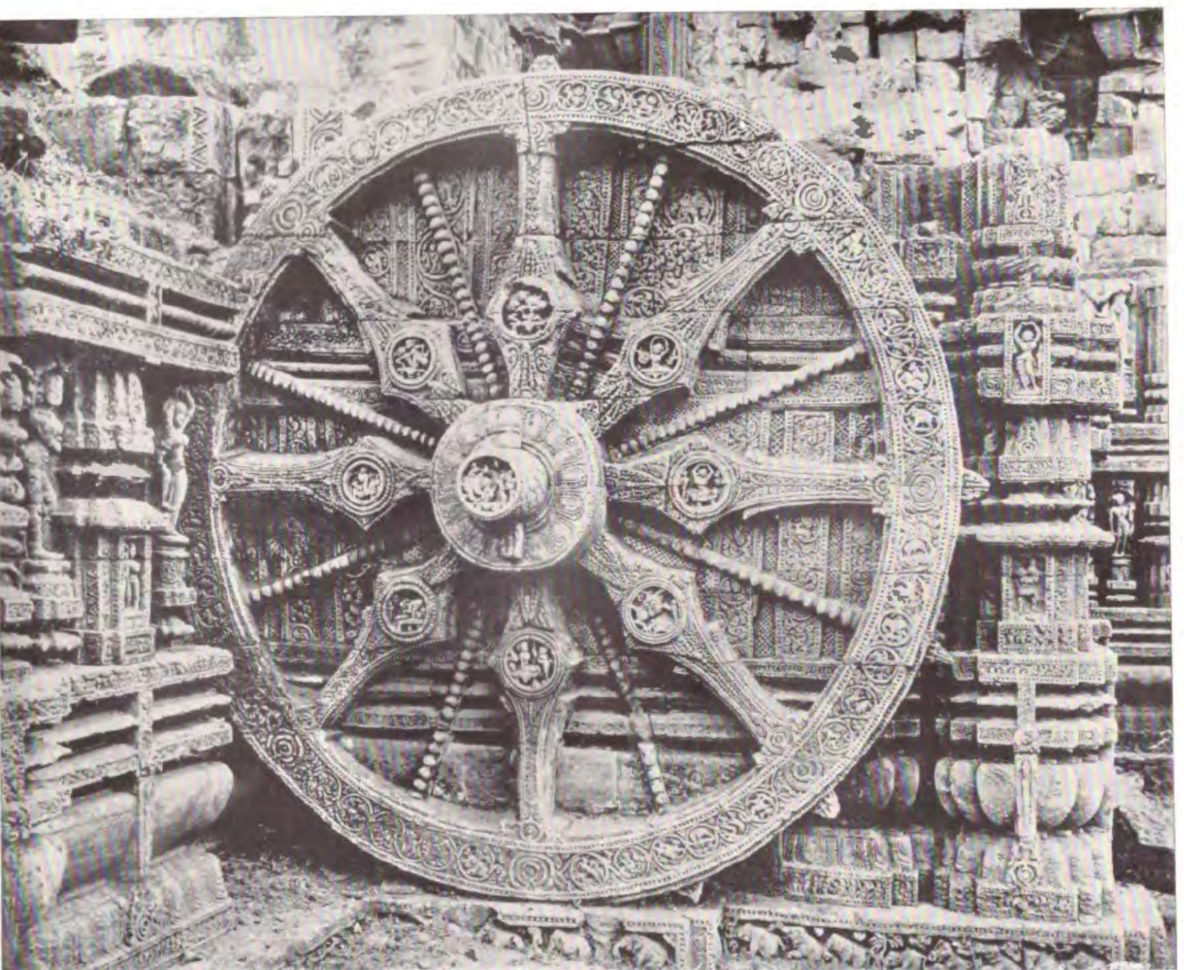
Up to the date of Akbar's death Orissa was included in the *Ṣubāh* of Bengal. In the description given in the Mughal Imperial Gazetteer of Akbar's time the only places mentioned are Cuttack, Puri and Konarak. It is stated that Akbar divided it into five *Sarkārs* : (1) Jalesar, which comprised the modern districts of Medinipur and part of Hooghly, (2) Bhadrak consisting of the modern districts of Balasore and a part of Cuttack, (3) Cuttack and Puri, (4) Kalang Dandapat (*Kaliṅga*) and (5) Raja Mahendrah. The last two could not have formed any part of the dominions of Akbar, as even in 1641 the Quṭb-shāhī *Faujdārī* of

1 *Asiatic Researches Vol. XV pp. 292-93*

2 *Akbarnama, Eng. trans, Vol. III. p. 1130*

3 *Ibid., p. 1174*

4 *Ibid., p. 1256*



Details of Ornamentation of one of the Wheels of the Plinth—Sūrya Deul
Konārak—Puri District

Chikakol was very recent. The term *Daṇḍapāt* means a Viceroyalty or Governorship in Oṛiyā. Kalang (Kaliṅga) consisted of the country to the south of the Chilka now included in the district of Ganjam and Vizagapatam. The names of the Mahals in the *Sarkārs* of Kaliṅga and Rājamahendrī are not given and, therefore, their extent can not be determined at present. It is simply stated that Kaliṅga consisted of 27 and Rājamahendrī of 16 *Mahals*. The revenue from the former was 5,560,000 and that from the latter 5,000,000 *Dāms*. Detailed description is given in the case of each of the northern *Sarkārs* of Orissa which enables us to determine the exact jurisdiction of each of them. Jaleśwar consisted of 28 Mahals and the revenue was 5,052,738 *Dāms*. Among the Mahals are mentioned Babhanbhum, the town of Jaleśwar, Tamluk, Kāśījoṛā, Kharagpur, Maljheta, Medinipur and Narayanpur. The *Sarkār* of Jaleśwar contained a portion of the modern district of Bankura and Hooghly and the whole of Midnapur with a slice from the top of Balasore. The Mahals mentioned have, in many cases, become irrecognisable on account of the mistakes of the editor ; such as, Kharaksur for Kharagpur and Malchhata and Maljikta for Maljheṭā :—

Bansanda, commonly Haftchor, has five strong forts.	
Castes, *Khandait Brahman*, and *Bhej*. Cavalry 100 ; Infantry 5,800 ;	421,430
Bibli (Pipli ?) Cavalry 10, Infantry 40.	2,011,430
Bali Shahi, Cav. 200, Inf. 2,000	963,430
Balkohsi, has three forts : 1 Sokrah ; 2, Banhas Tāli ; 3, Daddhpur.;Cav. 20, Inf. 300	756,220

Parbada. Cav. 400, Inf. 1,600 ; has a strong fort, partly on a hill, partly fenced by forest.	640,000
Bhogrāi, has a fortress of great strength ; Caste *Khandait*, Cav. 100, Inf. 2,200, archers and matchlockmen	497,140
Bugdi, *Rajput*, Cav. 100, Inf. 200,	39,428
Bāzār	125,720
Bābbanbhūm, *Brāhman*, Cav. 200, Inf. 400	114,208
Taliya, with town of Jalesar, has a brick fort, Caste, *Khandaīt*, Cav. 300, Inf. 6,250,	12,007,110
Tanbūlak, Cav. 50, Inf. 1,000 has a strong fort, *Khandait*.	2,571,430
Tarkol : a fort in the jungle, Cav. 30, Inf. 170.	720,570
Dāwar Shorbhūm, commonly Barah, Cav. 100, Inf. 100	1,342,360
Ramna has five forts, 1. adjacent to city ; 2. Ramchandrapur ; 3. *Āikā* ; 4. Dūt ; 5. Saldah, Cav. 700, Inf. 3,550, hold the five,	5,062,306
Rayn, on the border of Orissa, has three forts, Cav. 150, Inf. 1,500	218,806
Rāepūr, a large city, with a strong fortress, Cav. 200, Inf. 1,000	986,970
Sabang, strong fort in the jungle ; Cav. 100, Inf. 2,000	1,257,140
Siyāri	108,570

Kāsijorā, Cav. 200, Inf. 2,500, matchlock and bowmen	893,160
Kharaksur, a strong fort in the wooded hills, 500 footmen and matchlockmen.	528,570
Kedarkhand, three strong forts, Cav. 50, Inf. 500.	468,570
Karai, Infantry 100.	285,720
Gagnāpūr, *Rajput* Cav. 50, Inf. 400	85,720
Karohim.	68,570
Malchhata, Cav. 500, Inf. 5,000	9,312,610
Mednipur a large city with forts, one ancient and the other modern. Caste *Khandait*, Cav. 60, Inf. 500	1,019,930
Mahakanghāt, commonly Kuṭbpūr, a fortress of great strength, Cav. 30, Inf. 1,000	240,000
Naraiṇpur, commonly Kandhar, with a strong fort on a hill, Cav. 100, Inf. 4,000	1,280,860

Of the Mahals mentioned above Jaleśwar is now a small village in the district of Balasore. Close to it is the small village of Tukaroi or Mughalmari, where the Mughals under Mun'im Khān defeated Dāūd Khān. Another battle took place near the same spot in 1592 when Mān Singh defeated the Afghans.[1]

The *Sarkār* of Bhadrak corresponded practically to the modern district of Balasore. The headquarters of the *Sarkār* were at Bhadrak, now the southern sub-division of the district of Balasore. It was a small *Sarkār* consisting

[1] 'Āin-i-Ākbarī, Eng. trans. (Bib. Ind.), Vol. II, pp. 142-3

of seven Mahals only, with a revenue of 18,687,170 *Dams*. The only places of note were Bhadrak and Kaupur, called Kadsu by Jarrett :—

"Barwa, two strong fortresses, Bānak and Raskoi, Caste, *Khandait* and *Kāyath*, Cav. 50, Inf. 400	3,240,000
Jaukajri	57,140
Subarban, district of Bhadrak, has a fort called Dhāmnagar, with a resident Governor, *Khandait*, Cav. 200, Inf. 5,500	9,542,760
Sahansū, 2 strong forts, *Khandait*, Cav. 300, Inf. 1,700	3,514,280
Kāimān, a stone fort of the greatest strength, *Khandait*, Cav. 100. Inf. 400	1,515,840
Kadsu.	730,430
Independent Talukdārs ; three forts, Pachchham Donk, *Khandait* and *Majori*, Cav. 100, Inf. 300 ; the three forts held by *Khandaits*[1]	85,720

The third *Sarkār* of Orissa was the second in size and importance. Katak the headquarters of the *Ṣubahdār* or *Na'ib-Ṣubahdār* consisting of 21 Mahals with a revenue of 91,432,730 *Dāms* or more than five times that of the *Sarkār* of Bhadrak, but less than one-fifths of the *Sarkār* of Jaleśwar. The *Sarkār* of Katak contained the whole of the districts of Puri and Cuttack, with a portion of the modern district of Ganjam, now included in the Madras presidency. Āṣkā, spelt Āṣakāh, is a *Tāluqa* of the Ganjam district.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 143

The *Sarkār* contained the most important part of Central Orissa, Al, also spelt Aul or Ali, which was the Zamindari given by Mān Singh to Telinga Rāmachandra, a son of the last *Gajapati* Mukunda-Harichandana. Barang is now a station on the Bengal Nagpur Railway. Parsottam is Purushottama or Puri. Abu'l Fazl's list includes Kotdesh, which was one of the great Zamindaries of Orissa and which fell during Maratha government to one Trilochan Patnaik. The mention in the '*Āin-i-Ākbari* proves that the Kotdesh Mahal is an old Zamindari usurped by the Patnaik during Maratha rule, as originally he was a *gumashta* under the *Faujḍār* of Pipli.[1] Abu'l Fazl mentions three Hindu divisions the boundaries of which cannot be recognised now: Pachchhan Dikh, Dakhan Dikh along with Purab Dikh :—

"Āl, Inf. 2,100	6,429,130
Āṣakāh, Inf. 15,000	3,160,380
Athgarh, with a strong fort, *Brāhmaṇ*, Cav. 200, Inf. 7,000	1,184,980
Purab Dikh, four forts, Cav. 200, Inf. 6,000 ...	22,881,580
Bhījnagar with strong fort, *Telīngha*, Cav. 50, Inf. 22,000	860,390
Banju, *Rajput*, Cav. 100, Inf. 20,000	866,206
Parsottam.	691,530
Chaubiskot, 4 forts of great strength, Cav. 500, Inf. 20,000	2,391,970
Jash, commonly Tajpur, a strong fort, *Brahmaṇ*, Cav. 200, Inf. 1,800,	2,073,780

1 *Bengal District Gazetteer Puri, Calcutta, 1908, pp. 284-5*

Dakhan Dikh, 4 forts, Cav. 180, Inf. 13,060 ...	22,065,770
Sirān	207,830
Shergarh, *Brahmaṇ*, Cav. 20, Inf. 200	1,408,580
Pachchham Dikh, Cav. 100, Inf. 50,000	662,490
Bahār.	5,129,820
Basāi Diwarmār, Inf. 1,000	2,746,650
Barang, 9 forts among the hills and jungles, Caste, *Āhir*, Cav. 20, Inf. 300	2,132,940
Kotdes, with three forts, the original Kasibah, Caste *Khandait*, Cav. 5,008, Inf. 300...	4,720,980
Kaṭak Banāras, suburban district with city, has a stone fort of great strength, and a masonry palace within, *Brahmaṇ* and *Khandait*, Cav. 200, Inf. 1,000	605,600
Khatrah, with strong fortress, *Khandait*, Cav. 100, Inf. 400	1,120,230
Mānakpatan, a large port, where salt dues are collected.[1]	600,000

The late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti has, in an elaborate article on the Geography of Orissa, identified the majority of the fiscal divisions of the *'Āin* as already existing and as being mentioned in the temple records.[2] Subsequent changes, particularly in the *Sarkār* of Jaleśwar, will be narrated in the next two chapters. Practically the whole of this *Sarkār* was transferred to the *Ṣubah* of

[1] *'Āin-i-Ākbarī, Eng. Trans., (Bib. Ind.), Vol. II, pp. 143-44.*

[2] *Journal and Proceedings of the Āsiatic Society of Bengal, N. S., Vol. XII, 1916, pp. 29-56.*

Bengal and a small portion only was left to Orissa around the *Hāweli* of Jaleśwar.

Stirling has quoted a valuable extract from the revenue accounts of Rājā Mān Singh in Amli year 999, from sources unknown to us, describing the position of the Mughal feudatories, or, as Stirling puts it "Killajat, in the jungles and hills under Zemindars subject to Peshkash." It appears from this that in 999 or 1592 A. D. seven feudatory chiefs were regarded as supreme in the *Qila'-jat-Mahal* :—

I. The Rājā of Khurda with the command of 3,500 under whom there were 31 Zamindars and 200 *qila's*. The names of the 31 Zamindaries are quoted in full and among these we can recognise almost all the places; some of which are now feudatory States such as, Baramba, Tigiria, Narsinghpur, Talcher, Athgarh, Nayagarh, Ranpur and Daspalla; and others are the zamindaries such as Dampara, Parikud, Khalikot, Athgada, Chikiti, Mohuri, Sergada and Tickeli Banki; Khurdha and Gumsar are now Khas Mahals of the Government.

II. The Rājā of Sarangarh with the command of 500 troops under whom were 31 zamindaries and 50 *qila's*. Stirling remarks that the whole of these *qila's* lie within and on the borders of the Moghalbandi south of the Mahanadi. The Rājā of Sarangarh was deprived of all control over the sardars long before the Maratha conquest.

III. The Rājā of Al or Aul possessed only one *qila'*, and one zamindary. Stirling remarks against the list of dependent Hindu sardars that Kanika, Rynta, Kujang, Kokilo Dip, Harishpur, Marichpur, Bishanpur, Jamkarera (Jhankar ?), Chedra and Darpan are now tributary estates. The Rājā of Al has lost all control over them. It

should be noted that Rynta is probably the same as Ryntoo, the chief of which, Purushottama Bhañja, was the contemporary of Divyasimha I (1692-1719).[1]

IV. The chief of Keunjhar with 15 zamindaries and 35 *qila's* and under him there were 14 chiefs with 24 *qila's*, and the estate of Sukinda. The modern feudatory State of Dhenkanal was then a petty zamindary under the Bhañja Chief of Keunjhar. Stirling notes against the list that the Chief's authority was then confined to Keunjhar.

V. The chief of Mayurbhañja with 12 zamindaries and 42 *qila's*. His own State contains 18 *qila's*. Among the 11 subordinate zamindars are mentioned a number of chiefs who had long ceased to have any connection with Mayurbhañj. Singhbhum was an independent State in 1825. Nilgiri is now a separate Feudatory State of Orissa. Talmunda and Jamirapal are now in the southen Balasore and Midnapur Districts respectively. It appears, therefore, that though the income of the Mayurbhañj Chief was less than that of the Rājā of Khurda as mentioned in the Fifth Report subsequently mentioned, his status in 1592 was certainly the same as that of the *Gajapati* and he ruled over a much wider area beginning with Singbhum and ending with Talmunda, Jamirapal and Jamkunda at the mouth of Subarnarekha river.

VI. The zamindar of Vishṇupur with 12 zamindaries and 29 *qila's*. Among the subordinate zamindars are mentioned those of Mahishadal, Tamluk, Manbhum, Bamanbhum and Raipur. It appears, therefore, that the Malla chiefs of Vishṇupur, now in the Bankura district, belonged to Orissa and ruled over the entire tract from Tamluk to Manbhum or Purulia.

[1] See *poste, Ch. XXIV.*



Toraṇa, Mukteśvara, Bhubaneśvara

VII. The chief of Fathabad with 7 zamindaries and 17 *qila's*. Among the six subordinate chiefs are mentioned the zamindars of Ghatsila, Maynajurā and Nārājol.

VIII. The chief of Narayangarh with 6 zamindaries and 17 *qila's*.

IX. The chief of Karangarh with 6 zamindaries and 8 *qila's*.

X. The chief of Nagbhum with 1 zamindary and 2 *qila's*.[1]

The advent of European merchants into Orissa took place in this period, the earliest of them being of Portuguese nationality. No records exist about the doings of the Portuguese in Orissa, but from the English accounts of the first venture of the merchants of that nation into Orissa it appears that they were sufficiently powerful on the eastern coast even after the fall of Hooghly in 1652. Their principal port was Pipli on the Suvarṇarekhā, the very site of which has been forgotten. "Pipli was once the most important port on the Orissa coast and contained settlements of the Portuguese and Dutch. The Portuguese settled there in 1599 and for many years it was a centre of that power. Bruton writing in 1683 describes it as 'a port-town of the Portugals, where the Portugals are resident ; and it was a great slave mart where the Arakanese pirates brought their prisoners.' Bernier (1660) mentions it as the port from which he went in a seven-oared scallop to Ogouli (Hooghly), a journey which took him 9 days. The capture of Hooghly in 1632 and their expulsion from Hijli in 1636, destroyed the power of the Portuguese, but even as late as 1723 a Jesuit missionary, Father Laynez, in

1. *Asiatick Researches, Vol. XV, pp. 229-35.*

an account of an episcopal visitation of the Bishop of St. Thome, mentions it as a place where Topasses or Portuguese mercenaries congregated....The most credible account is that near the village of Manuagar, on the right bank of the river, there formerly existed a great settlement of Firinghis (Europeans) and Mughals, whose ships used to sail from the sea right up to the spot; and that the Firinghis had a cemetery with masonry tombs, but the site of the whole has been washed into the river."[1] In Balasore town there was a Portuguese church with a wooden cross over the principal doorway. Stirling saw it in the beginning of the last century but it has disappeared long ago.[2]

During the long wars between the Afghans and the Mughals for the possession of Orissa a number of very distinguished Mughal officers, both Hindus and Musalmans, served in that province. The war in Orissa was really a continuation of the war for the conquest of Bengal, and even when Orissa was practically conquered from the Afghans by Rāja Mān Singh, 'Usmān Khan was still defiant in eastern Bengal. Blochmann has left a valuable account of the grandees of the Court of Akbar among whom many served in or are mentioned in connection with Orissa. Mīrzā Sharafuddin Ḥusain, son of Khwājah Mu'in, was sent to Bengal by Akbar, who spared his life after his rebellion in Gujarat. Muẓaffar Khān, the Governor of Bengal, was directed to give him a *Jāgir* if he found that the Mīrzā was repentant, but otherwise to send him to Mecca. When Mā'sūm Khān Kābulī rebelled in Bihar and

1 *Bengal District Gazeteer—Balasore, pp. 204-5.*

2 *Ibid., p. 189.*

with Bāba Khan Qāqshāl beseiged Muẓaffar Khān in Ṭāṇḍā, Mīr Sharafuddīn joined them carrying away the treasure of Muẓaffar Khān. He was subsequently poisoned in Orissa by Ma'sūm Khān Kābulī.[1]

Khān-i-Aẓam Mīrzā 'Azīz Kokāh, son of Ātgāh Khān, was appointed to stamp out the Afghan rebellion which followed the death of Muẓaffar Khān. In the 27th year of Akbar's reign, when Qatlū Khān reoccupied the whole of Orissa and a portion of Bengal, Khān-i-'Aẓam fought against him but was compelled to hand over his command to Shāhbāz Khān Kamboh on account of illness.[2] Khān-i-Jahān Ḥusain Qūlī Khān, son of Walī Beg Zu'lqādir, was the sister's son of Bairām Khān, the regent. After the death of Mun'im Khān Khān-i-Khānān in 983 A. H. (1575-76), Khān-i-Jahān was appointed to Bengal with Rājā Toḍar Mall as his second in command. He defeated Dāūd Shah Kararānī at thc battle of Rajhmahal and sent Dāūd's head to Akbar. While pursuing the remnants of the Afghan army Khān-i-Jahān fell ill and died in A. H. 986[3] (1578-79). Rājā Mān Singh was the real conqueror of Orissa. He conquered Orissa in the 35th year of Akbar's reign and reconquered it after the rebellion of Khwājah Sulaimān and Khwājah' Uṣmān in 1000 A. H. (1591-92). Mān Singh remained in Bengal and Orissa till 1013 A. H. (1604-5) when Akbar's illness induced him to return to Court hastily.[4] Muḥammad Qūlī Khān Barlās was of the Chaghatai clan. He served under Mun'im Khān

1 *'Āin-i-Ākbari, Eng. Trans., Vol. I.*

2 *Ibid., p. 326.*

3 *Ibid., pp. 330-31.*

4 *Ibid., pp. 340-41.*

but refused to follow Dāūd Shāh Kararānī when the latter withdrew into Orissa from Sātgāon. Later on, re-inforced by Rājā Toḍar Mall, he did move into Orissa and died at Medinipur in 982 A. H. (1574-75). Qiyā Khān Gung was another officer of Mun'im Khān who was left in Orissa during the rebellion of the Afghans in Bengal in the 25th year of the reign of Akbar. He was deserted by his soldiers and besieged by Qatlū Khān Lohānī in some fort of Orissa and killed (989 A. H.=1581-82 A. D.)[1]

Rājā Toḍar Mall accompanied Mun'im Khān Khān-i-Khānān to Bengal in the 19th year and settled the land revenue of Bengal and Orissa. He came to Bengal a second time with Khān-i-Jahān Ḥusain Qūlī Khān.[2] Stirling says : "In 1582 A D., the celebrated Dewan of the Empire, Rajah Todar, or, as the Urias call him, Toral Mall, visited the province to superintend the introduction of his settlement called the Taksim Jamma and Tankah Raqmi. He proceeded no further with it apparently than the three Sircars of Jaleswar, Badrak and Cuttack. All the account which is preserved of that important and memorable transaction, is, that from the time of Toral Mall's visit to the province, the measurement by Bareh Dasti Padika or rod of twelve spans was introduced. He is said to have treated the Rajah with much respect, and to have admired greatly the temple image of Jagannath, but his proceedings must have been fatal to the power and authority of the Gajapati prince, as he seems to have annexed nearly the whole of his domains to the imperial rent roll." [3]

1 *Ibid., p. 343.*

2 *Ibid., p. 351.*

3 *Asiatick Researches, Vol. XV, pp. 291-92.*

Wazīr Khān of Herat was ordered to join Khān-i-'Āẓam Mīrzā 'Aziz Khān and when the latter fell ill Wazīr Khān was left in charge of the provinces of Bengal and Orissa. He made good use of the opportunity and moved against Qatlū Khān in Orissa, whom he defeated and compelled to send tribute in the 29th year of Akbar's reign. He remained in charge of Bengal and Orissa till 995 A. H.[1] (1586-87 A. D.). Ṣādiq Khān, son of Bāqir Khān of Herat, was ordered to join Wazīr in the beginning of the 29th year of the reign of Akbar. Ṣādiq Khān mediated a peace with Qatlū Khān Lohānī about 12 miles from Burdwan according to which the latter was confirmed in his possession of Orissa.[2] Iskandar Khān Uzbeg joined Sulaimān Kararānī of Bengal and accompanied his son Bāyazid in his campaign in Orissa. After his return to Bengal, Sulaimān attempted to kill him and therefore Iskandar fled to Mun'im Khān. Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl was sent by Khān-i-Khānān Mun'im Khān against the Afghans of Orissa and Eastern Bengal.[3] Murād Khān, son of 'Amīr Khān Mughal Beg, was sent as Governor of Jaleśwar after Mun'im Khān's conquest of Bengal and Orissa. When Mun'im died, Dāūd fell upon Naẓar Bahādur, Akbar's *Faujdar* of the *Sarkār* of Bhadrak, and treacherously killed him, and then Murād retreated to Ṭāṇḍā.[4] Hāji Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī also accompanied Mun'im Khān to Bengal and Orissa and was wounded at the battle of Tukaroi.[5] Hāshim Beg, son of Qāsim Khān,

1 *'Āīn-i-Ākbari, Eng. Trans. (Bib. Ind.), Vol. II, p. 354.*
2 *Ibid., p. 56.*
3 *Ibid., p. 370.*
4 *Ibid., p. 374.*
5 *Ibid., p. 375.*

served in the Panjab and Khandesh during the reign of Akbar. After his return to Court, from Trimbak in the Nasik district, he was appointed to the command of 1500. He was promoted to the command of 2000 horse in the first year of Jahāngir's reign and appointed *Ṣubāhdār* of Orissa in the next year with the rank of 3000 horse. He was transferred to Kashmīr in the 5th year.[1] The new *Gajapati* Rāmachandra Deva of Khurdah is also mentioned among the grandees of the reign of Akbar.[2] Shaikh Bāyazid, a grandson of Shaikh Salīm Chishti of Fatḥpur Sikri, was the foster-brother of Emperor Jahāngir. His son, Mukarram Khān, was made Governor of Orissa by Jahāngir with the command of 3000 horse and remained there till the 11th year (1029 A. H.) when he was succeeded by Ḥasan Ali Turkmān.[3] 'Uṣmān Khān Lohāṅi is wrongly described as a son of Qatlū Khān Lohānī by Stewart. According to the *Tārīkh-i-Makhzan-i-Āfāghanā* he was a son of Miyān'Isā Khān Lohānī, who became the leader of Afghans after the death of Qatlū Khān. 'Uṣmān received lands in Orissa and Sātgāon from Rājā Mān Singh, but these *Jāgir*s were later on substituted for lands in Mymensingh, portions of which are still held by his descendants. Later on 'Uṣmān was defeated at Nek Ujyal in the northern part of the Dacca district on the 2nd March 1612. No connection can be traced with Orissa in the life of Uṣmān after this date. He died at the age of forty-two from wounds received in battle with the Mughals.[4]

1 *Ibid., pp. 477-78.*

2 *Ibid., p. 489.*

3 *Ibid., p. 493.*

4 *Ibid., pp. 520-21.*

Shaikh Kabīr Chishtī *alias* Shuja'at Khān or Rustam-i-Zamān was a relation of Islām Khān Chishtī and received the title of Shuja'at Khān from prince Salīm during the life-time of Akbar. In the last war with Uṣman Khān Lohānī he followed Uṣmān after his wound and the Afghans finally submitted to him with their families. According to the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* Islām Khān Chishtī appointed Shuja'at Khān to Orissa, but on the way the Khān broke his neck by jumping from an elephant and died. According to the *Ma'aṣir-ul-'Umāra* the accident took place at Patna.[1]

1 *Ibid., pp. 519-20.*

CHAPTER XXIV

THE MUGHAL RULE IN ORISSA

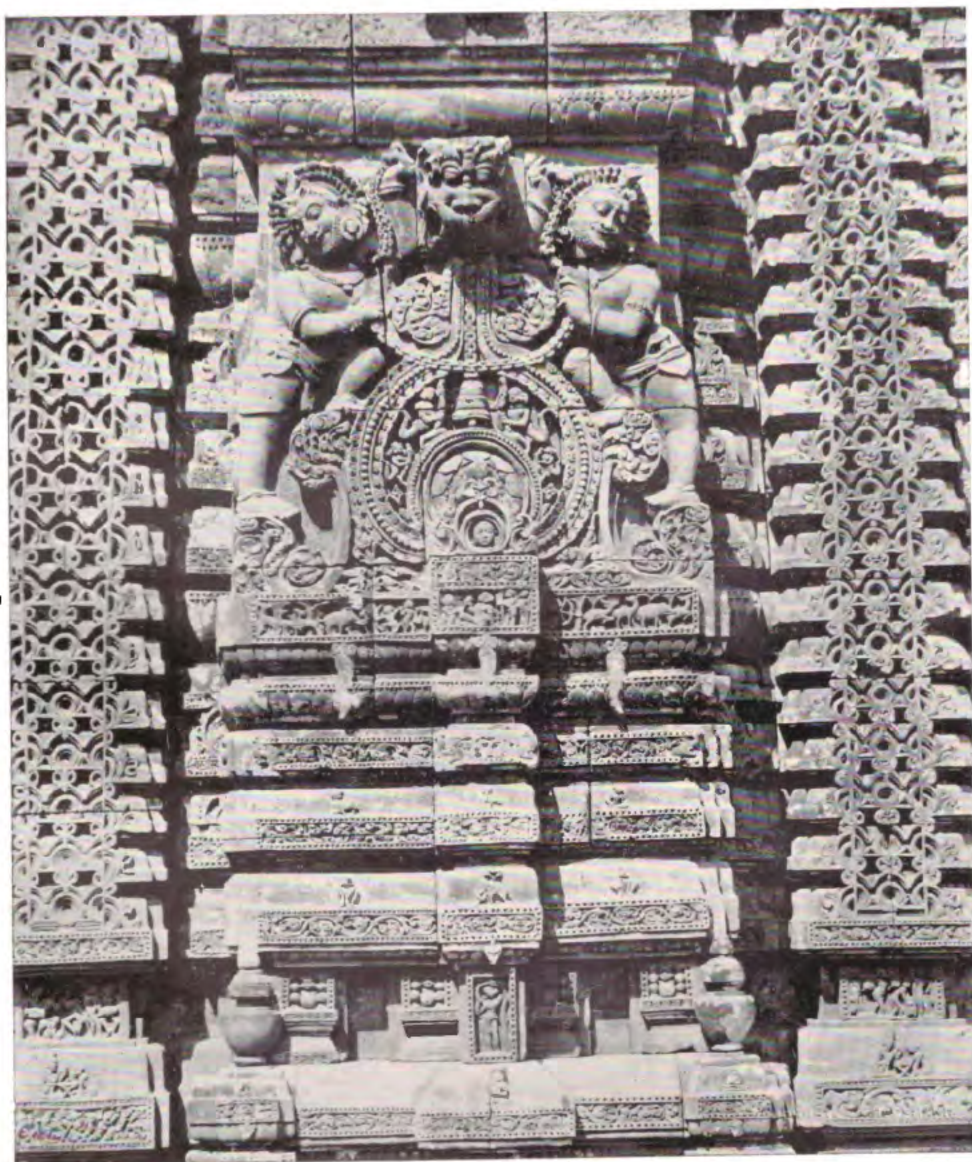
Mughal rule in Orissa really began during the reign of the Emperor Nūruddin Jahāngir after the appointment of the first *Ṣūbāhdār* in 1607. In addition to the information conveyed by Jahāngir's "Memoirs" much new light has been thrown by the researches of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who has utilised many new sources of information. The new records collected by him consist of the *Murāqāt-i-Hassan* or "Letters of Maulānā 'Abu'l Hassan, who served the *Ṣūbāhdars* of Orissa as Secretary for about 12 years (1655-67), and put this collection together in 1080 A. H. (1669-70)" and "Letters addressed by Aurangzib to Murshid Qūli Khān" when *Dīwān* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, about 1700-1705, included in the Imperial Secretary Inayetullah Khān's *Āḥkām-ī-'Ālamgīrī*.[1] Fresh light was obtained by the same authority from the *Bahāristān* five years later.[2]

The new records furnished a list of the *Ṣūbāhdārs* of Orissa during the reign of Jahāngir. The list opens with the name of Hāshim Khān, who was appointed on the 26th September 1607 but was transferred to Kashmir by an order dated 24th May 1611.[3] Hāshim Khān's predecessor in office was Quṭbuddin Khān Kokāh, who was appointed

1 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Vol. II, 1916, pp. 153-54.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. VII, 1921, p. 53.*

3 *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī, 60, English translation, pp. 126-27.*



Details of the *Śikhara* of the Mukteśvara—the great Chaitya-window Panel and Fret-work of superimposed Chaitya-windows

Ṣūbahdār of Bengal and Orissa but was killed in the fight with Sher Afgan *alias* 'Alī Qūlī Istāj-lū at Burdwan.[1] Hāshim Khān's period of government corresponds with the last years of the reign of the new *Gajapati* Ramachandra I and the first two years of his son Purushottama, if Stirling is to be believed.[2] Hunter, who based his account on the equally unreliable *Mādalā Pāñji* as digested for him by Bhavanicharan Bandyopādhyāya in his *Purushottama-chandrikā*, assigns 1607 as the date of the death of Rāmachandra I.[3] Hāshim Khān did not leave Orissa immediately after receiving the order of transfer. He was succeeded by Rājā Kalyān Singh, son of Rājā Toḍar Mall. During the period of office of Hāshim Khān occurred the celebrated siege of the temple of Jagannātha. At the end of the rainy season Hāshim Khān and the Mughal officers in Orissa decided to make war upon the titular *Gajapati* Purushottama and other "Zamīndārs" of Orissa following the precedent of the warfare carried on against the Afghans of Bengal by Islām Khān Chishtī. A Rajput named Rājā Keshodās Māru of Maiḍtā[4] did not wait for the co-operation of his colleagues and set out from his *Jāgīr* at Cuttack on the plea of pilgrimage. He seized the temple enclosure of Jagannātha and barricaded himself therein. Purushottama came from Khurdah with 10,000 cavalry, three or four lakhs infantry and many *raths*. The *raths* were wooden towers on wheels which were filled

1 *Ibid., p. 78.*

2 *Asiatick Researches, Vol. XV, p. 294.*

3 *Orissa, London, 1872. Vol. II, Appendix VII, p. 190.*

4 He is called Rājā of Jaisalmer in the *Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri, p. 36.*

with soldiers and drawn forward by elephants or men so as to favour escalading. Ten to twenty such *raths* were filled with Oṛiyās and brought close to the walls of the temple. The Rajputs met them with fire at the end of long poles. At the end many of the *raths* were burnt and the Oṛiyās failed to storm the enclosure. Purushottama was compelled to sue for peace and sent an ambassador to Keshodās. In the meanwhile news of the Rajput's escapade having reached Bengal, Islām Khān, the Viceroy, sent strict order to Hāshim Khān urging him to advance immediately to the aid of Keshodās. Purushottama now agreed

(i) to send his daughter to the Imperial harem as a *Ḍolah*.

(ii) to pay three lakhs of rupees as tribute,

(iii) to give his own sister in marriage to Rājā Keshodās, and

(iv) to pay one lakh of rupees to Keshodās and his men (evidently for the trouble they had taken in plundering the sacred temple and causing unnecessary trouble within the State of Khurda).

Keshodās left Puri with forty horsemen and went to Khurda to be married to Purushottama's sister. As he was given a lean elephant he was kind enough to seize by force six of the best in the Royal stables and to set off without taking leave. Inspite of strenuous opposition, Keshodās and his small band of adherents succeeded in cutting their way out and reached Puri. In the meanwhile assistance reached Puri from Cuttack and Keshodās was escorted back. On the recommendation of Islām Khān Chishtī, Rājā Keshodās Māru was raised by Jahangīr to

be a commandar of four thousand and was presented with standards, a sword, a dagger, a horse, and a robe of honour.[1]

Rājā Kalyān Singh was appointed on the recommendation of Islam Khān and governed Orissa from 1611 to 1617. He attempted to emulate the feat of Keshodās Māru and also attempted to conquer Khurda. In the meanwhile Mughal aggression from the north and the advance of the Musalmans of Golkonda from the south had devastated the territories of the nominal Gajapatis and poor Purushottama was again compelled to throw himself on the mercy of his persecutors. He agreed to send his daughter to the imperial harem (*ḍolah*), to wait at Court in person, to present a tribute of three lakhs of rupees and a famous elephant named Śesha-Nāga. The daughter was sent to Delhi with one lakh of rupees by way of Bengal. It is mentioned in the *Tuzūk* that the Emperor viewed the eighteen elephants sent by Rājā Kalyān Mall from Orissa shortly after the 24th August 1617.[2]

The charges brought against Rājā Kalyān Mall caused him to be recalled to Delhi, though on investigation they were found to be false.[3] According to the "Chronicles of Jagannātha Rājā Kalyān Mall was killed by the Rājā of Khurda,"[4] but this statement is false, as he lived to return to court and was attached to the force of Mahābat Khān in Kābul.[4] His successor was Mukarram Khān, son

[1] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. VII, pp. 54-56; Tuzūk, Eng. Trans. p. 202.*

[2] *Ibid., p. 56.*

[3] *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī, 199, Eng. trans.; pp. 389-90, 402.*

[4] *Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri, p. 37.*

[5] *Tuzūk, Eng. Trans., p. 402.*

of Muazzam Khān, who was appointed in 1617. During his period of office Khurda was invaded by the Mughals and Purushottama compelled to fly to Rājamahendrī. It is stated in the *Baharistān* that the territories of Khurda were annexed to the Mughal empire, "though the descendants of its last independent Rājāh continued to enjoy some land as mere Zamīndars." Mukarram Khān was promoted to be a commander of three thousand for his conquest.[1] He was transferred some time later and his place taken by Jalair Khān. During the rule of this *Ṣūbāhdār* an expedition was undertaken against Bahādur Khān the Musalman Zamindar of Hijli. Later on Jalair Khān was transferred and Mīrzā Aḥmad Beg Khān sent in his place in 1623-24. Aḥmad Beg was the nephew of Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang, *Ṣūbāhdār* of Bengal. He had also attacked the unfortunate Narasiṁha Deva, but at this juncture Prince Shāh-Jahān entered Orissa through the Qutbshāhi dominions. Aḥmad Beg raised the siege of Khurda and fled from Orissa[2] to Rajmahal when Ibrāhīm Khān, the *Ṣūbāhdār* of Bengal, was killed in battle with the future emperor.[3] Shāh Jahān appointed Muḥammad :Taqi Simoāz *alias* Shāh Qūlī Khān as the Governor of Orissa but after the retreat of Shāh Jahān, Shāh Qūlī was defeated, captured and sent a prisoner to court by Rāo Ratan Singh Hāḍā. Jahāngīr's last *Ṣūbāhdār* of Orissa was Bāqir Khān Naẓm-Sānī, who was installed in 1627 and continued by Shāh Jahān. His term of office was renewed by an order dated the 4th February

1 *Ibid., 214-15, Eng. trans. p. 433.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 298-99.*

3 *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Vol. VII, pp. 8, 54.*

1628 and he was removed by another dated the 24th June 1632. He did not reach the Court till the 13th January 1633.[1] After the acquisition of Khurda by Mukarram Khān, Mughal aggression in Orissa came to a pause for some time. A king of Mayurbhanja named Vaidyanātha Bhañja is mentioned in the *Rasika-mangala* written about 1655. The Vaishṇava saint, named Rasikānanda, went to his court at Rajgadh and was well received by him. He is said to have converted the whole of Bhañjabhum to Vaishnavism. Vaidyanātha was a contemporary of Narasiṁha of Khurda and died about 1630.[2] Jahāngir records in the *Tuzūk*, "the province of Khurdah has come into the possession of the servants of the Court. After this it is the turn of the country of Rajmahendra. My hope in the grace of Allah is that the feat of my energy may advance further. At this time a petition from Kutb-ul-Mulk reached my son, Shah Jahan, to the effect that as the boundary of its territory has approached that of the King (*i. e.*, the Mughal Emperor), and owed service to this Court, he hoped an order would be issued to Mukarram Khān not to stretch out his hand, and to acquire possession of his country."[3] The Quṭb-shāhī conquest of southern Orissa was very slow. Though the *Gajapati* Rājā of Ganjam was ousted in 1571, Chikakol did not become a seat of a *Faujdār* till about 1641, when the first holder of that office built a Masjid at that place in 1641.[4] It was only after the final submission of

1 *Ibid., Vol. II., 1916, p. 154.*

2 *P. Ācharya—Vanshanu-Charita, Baripada, 1927, pp. 2-4., App. II.*

3 *Tuzūk, Eng. trans., Vol. I, p. 433.*

4 *Sarkar—History of Āurangzib, Vol. I, p. 215.*

Golkonda in 1636 that the Mughals received any revenue from the *Sarkār* of Rājamahendrī. Early in Aurangzib's reign Mālūd became the southernmost outpost of Mughal Orissa. At this time according to the *Muraqāt-i-Ḥassan,* the Golkonda tribute, "appertaining to the province of Orissa", was sent from the Quṭb-shāhī district of Chikakol to the Mughal *Ṣūbāhdār* of Orissa. It amounted to about Rs. 20,000.[1] The first recorded invasion of Quṭb-shāhī territory through Orissa was undertaken by Bāqir Khān in the winter of 1629-30. Bāqir marched to Chhatraduar, a very narrow pass on the frontier between the Mughal province of Orissa and the Quṭb-shāhī district of Chikakol, about twenty-four miles north of Rājamahendrī. The approach of the rainy season did not permit him to do anything else except to plunder and lay the country waste. In the autumn of 1630 Bāqir Khan advanced once more towards the south, with local levies from the Zamindars of Kallikota, Kudla and Al, and on the 3rd December arrived near Manṣūrgadh, a fort about eight miles from Khirāpārāh. The Quṭb-shāhī troops offered battle in the plain outside the fort but were defeated and the commandant, a Naikwar, capitulated. Bāqir returned after leaving garrisons at Khirāpārāh and Manṣūrgadh and the Quṭb-shāhīs re-assembled their forces to expel the Mughal troops. Bāqir returned suddenly by a forced march, and defeated the Deccani troops. The news of the second victory reached Shāh Jahān on the 23rd April 1631. Purushottama of Khurda died either in 1628 or in 1630 during the tenure of office of Bāqir Khān. According to

1 *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, p. 156.*

the MS. used by Hunter he was killed in battle.[1] He was succeeded by his son, Narasiṁha Deva who ruled till 1653 or 1655.

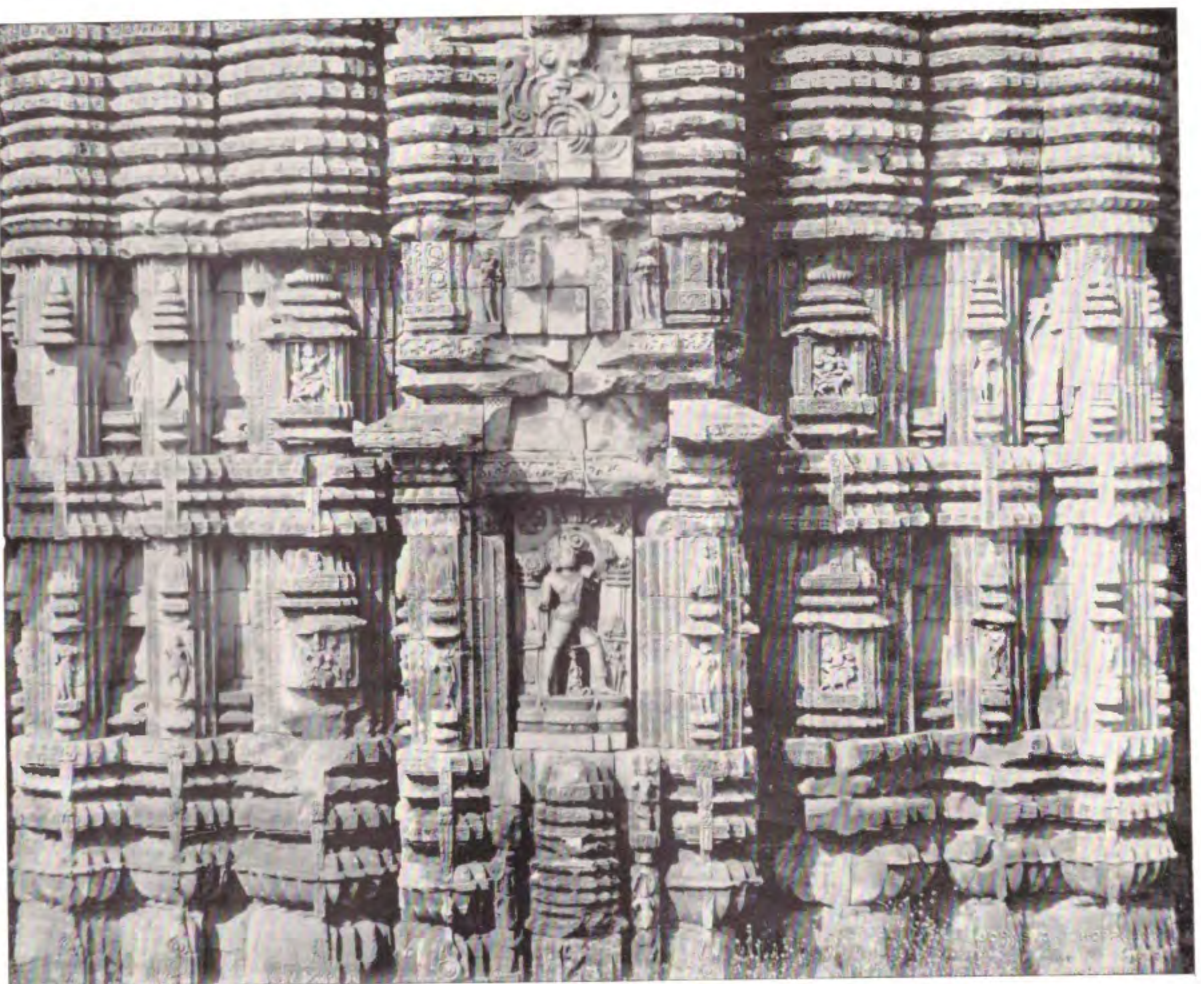
Complaints against Bāqir Khān's administration of Orissa reached the Court many times. It was alleged that Bāqir collected the Zamindars of Orissa together and then threw them into prison in order to extort money. Seven hundred captives were massacred and only one escaped to Court and laid his case before Shāh Jahān. This fugitive produced a rent roll showing that Bāqir had collected forty lakhs of rupees from Orissa. Bāqir Khān was recalled in consequence and asked to account for this money. His successor was Muta'qād Khān *alias* Mirzā Maki, who took charge of the province in 1632. Bruton mentions one Agha Muhammad Zaman Tihrāni as the Governor in May 1633 who issued a *farmān* authorising the English to trade in Orissa. Mutaqād Khān was sent back in 1634.

The subsequent history of Orissa during the reign of Shāh Jahān I is a mere string of names. Mutā'qad Khān governed Orissa till 1641 and the order removing him was issued from the Imperial Court on the 9th March 1640, but he did not reach the Court before the 29th July 1641. It is recorded that he died in extreme old age on the 17th October 1651. His successor was Shāh Nawāz Khān Safāwi, who ruled for a short time only. He was removed by an order dated the 8th March 1642, but remained in charge of the province till the end of that year. It appears that from 1642 till the death or flight of Shuja' from Bengal, Orissa remained an appanage of Prince Shuja's joint

[1] *Hunter's Orissa, Vol. II, App. VII, p. 191.*

Viceroyalty of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Shāh Nawāz Khān was succeeded by Āghā Muḥmmad Zamān Tiharānī who governed the province from 1642 to 1645. His order of appointment is dated the 8th March 1642, and that of removal, 21st November 1645. Muta'qād Khān was again appointed on the 21st November 1645 to be recalled to Court in the 22nd year of the reign of Shāh Jahān (July 1648 to June 1649). Then followed Samsāmuddaulah,[1] an agent of Prince Shuja' in 1654. The next agent of Shuja' was Tarbiyat Khān *alias* Shafiullah Birlas *Vilāyet-zā* who ruled over the province from 1655 to 1666. He was followed by Khwajah Bakhardad Ashraf Khān. Shān Jahān fell ill in September 1657 and from that date till the day of prince Shuja's final departure from Dacca (6th May 1660) there was great anarchy in Orissa. Most of the troops and officers were withdrawn from Orissa by Shuja' for his two expeditions against Agra and finally for his prolonged struggle with Mīr Jumlā I in the Rajmahal and Maldah districts. During this period Hindu Zamindars in the Mughal portion of Orissa practically became independent, built forts and plundered the country. By the autumn of 1659 Mir Jumlā I had established himself sufficiently to detach Ihtishām Khān to take charge of the province of Orissa. Ihtishām says in his *Muraqāt-i-Ḥassan* that he would reach Medinipur on the 25th November 1658. At this time prince Shuja' was in

[1] A son of Mir Ḥusāinuddīn and a grandson of Mīr Jamāluddin Ḥusain Inju, Ṣamsāmuddaulah was appointed Dīwan of Prince Shuja' in the 21st year of the reign of Shāh Jahān and *ṣūbahdār* of Orissa in the 28th year, with the command of 1500, five hundred horse. He died in the same year,--*'Āin-i-Ākbarī, Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 451.*



Details of the Vimāna—View from South—Ananta-Vāsudeva

complete possession of the country between Benares and Dacca and, therefore, no officer of Aurangzib could have reached Medinipur. Moreover Ihtishām was detached after the defeat of Shuja' in January 1659 and, therefore, it is more probable that he reached Medinipur in the year 2 instead of 1 of the reign of Aurangzib, *i. e.*, on the 14th November 1659. His stay in Orissa was too short to enable him to restore order. His first act as *Ṣūbahdār* of Orissa was to issue an order proclaiming that the *Khuṭba* should be read in all Masjids of Orissa in the name of the new emperor Aurangzib. Next he issued an order to all officers and Zamindars announcing his own appointment to the Government of Orissa. He ordered the officers and Zamindars to meet him at Narayangadh, where he would march from Medinipur. Ihtishām Khān was replaced a year later by Khān-i-Daurān, who came from Allahabad in September 1660. Ihtishām attempted to take with him as prisoners, for default of revenue, the brothers of Rājā Nīlakantha Deva, Gopīnāth, the brother of Bharat Pattanāyaka and the chief officer of Rājā Mukunda Deva. The *Faujdār* of Cuttack secured the release of Gopīnāth Paṭṭanāyaka by himself signing a bond for Rs. 14,000 to Ihtishām Khān. All other captives were released on similar conditions. During the reign of Shāh Jahān Purushottama was succeeded by Narasiṁha in 1630 and by Gaṅgādhara in 1655. Within a year Gaṅgādhara was succeeded by Balabhadra. These dates are given slightly differently by Hunter based on the vernacular account of Bhavānīcharan Bandopādhyāya. According to this account Purushottoma was slain in battle and ruled from 1607 to 1628. He was succeeded by Narasiṁha, who ruled from

1628 to 1653. Gaṅgādhara ruled from 1653 to 1654.[1] During the period of anarchy there appears to have been a change of rulers in the nominal chieftainship of Orissa. According to Stirling Balabhadra ruled for thirty-nine years[2] but Hunter assigns only eight years to him.[3] According to the Muraqāt-i-Hassan Narasiṁha was slain by Muta'qād Khan during his attack on Khurda. His nephew Gaṅgādhara was made Rājā. But Balabhadra, the elder brother of Narasiṁha, became Rājā of Khurda after killing Gaṅgādhara. An impostor appeared during the rule of Prince Shuja' and gave out that he was Gaṅgādhara, but he was slain by a confederacy of Zamindars near Katak. A second impostor appeared at Delhi and claimed to be Gaṅgādhara. He is referred to in a letter from the Khān-i-Daurān to Court in which it is stated that a third impostor was in prison near Katak.

Khān-i-Daurān received the order of appointment at Allahabad sent from Court on the 3rd April 1660 and set out for Orissa during the monsoon. On the 26th September he entered Medinipur, which was then included in the *Ṣūbah* of Orissa. The condition of Orissa after the flight of prince Shuja' is very graphically described in the *Mufaqāt-i-Hassan* : "All Zamindars are refractory, owing to the slack rule of my predecessors. The Zamindars on the further side of the Katjhuri, in the jurisdiction of Sayid Sher Khan, have refused tribute and declared war against him (p. 59). Krishna Bhañj, of Hariharpur, the leading Zamindar of this province, during the interregnum

1 Hunter's *Orissa, Vol. II, Appendix VII, p. 190.*

2 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VI, Part II, 1837, p. 764.*

3 *Orissa, Vol. II, App. VII, p. 190.*

spread his power over the country from Medinipur to Bhadrak, a distance of 50 or 60 *kos*, seizing the property of the inhabitants and wayfarers and severely oppressing the people (pp. 72,107). The fort ot Machhara or Bachhara (?) was wrested from Shuja's men by Lakshmi Narayan Bhañja, the Rājā of Keonjhur, during the time of disorder (pp. 52, 58 and 129). For the last three years the Zamindars on the further side of Katak have been collecting vast forces and getting ready for war (p. 72). Bahādur, the Zamindar of Hijli, is in rebellion (p. 130). Chhut Rai has dispersed the ryots of Medinipur, and is building a fort in the jungles with evil intentions. (p. 190)."[1]

From the account of the *Muraqāt* it is evident that even in 1656 the Bhañja chiefs were regarded as the foremost people in Orissa. Though Khān-i-Daurān crushed Rājā Mukunda Deva[2] of Khurda, the opposition from the Hindu chiefs was headed by the Bhañjas and the two branches, of Hariharpur or Mayurbhañj and Keonjhar, had to be attacked and defeated separately. The anarchy had reduced Orissa to great straits and the country had to be reconquered when Aurangzib's reign began. Bahādur Khān of Hijli should not have been left unsubdued in the rear, but the condition of the roads during the monsoon compelled Khān-i-Daurān to leave the straight road *via* Hijli and go to Jaleśwar *via* Narayangadh. Khān-i-Daurān

1 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, 1916, p. 159.*

2 According to Stirling, who is always more accurate and reliable than Hunter, Mukunda Deva came to the throne of Khurda in 1664 (*Asiatic Researches vol. XII, p, 294.*) and ruled till 1692, but Persian authorities mention him as having opposed Khān-i-Daurān in 1661.

reached Jaleśwar in the middle of October and on hearing of his approach both Bahādur Khān and Kṛishṇa Chandra Bhañja wrote to him promising submission and to wait on him at Jaleśwar. The Mughal *Faujdār* of Remuna wrote to the new *Ṣūbāhdār* that the agents of these two Zamindars had met him with the purpose of arranging interviews for their master. The *Faujdār* was ordered to reassure them and send them back with messages to their master that they may wait on the *Ṣūbāhdār* at Jaleśwar without suspicion or fear. Bahādur Khān did not turn up but Kṛishṇa Chandra Bhañja came and met with a horrible fate. His offences were terrible. "He kept one thousand horses and ten or twelve thousand foot soldiers, and was obeyed and helped by all the Zamindars of this country. (During the anarchy) he had plundered the tract from Bhadrak to Medinipur, carried off the ryots in his own country, increased their cultivation and ruined the imperial dominions" (p. 107). Once more the *Muraqāt* quietly admits that after the fall of the pseudo-*Gajapatis* of Khurda, the Bhañja chiefs had attained the paramount power in Orissa and they had done more damage to Mughal dominion than the rest of the rebellious Oriyā chiefs put together. Kṛishṇa Chandra Bhañja of Mayurbhañj met Khān-i-Daurān after waiting for a month on the pretext of finding an auspicious day and offered excuses for his disloyal conduct. During the discussion on settlement of accounts there was a quarrel and, unable to bear the insults of the new *Ṣūbāhdār* Kṛishṇa Chandra attacked him but was slain with his party. Krishna Chandra Bhañja is mentioned in the *Rasika-maṅgala* by Gopījanavallabhadāsa, a disciple of

the Vaishṇava saint Rasikānanda written about five or six years before his murder, as a chief devoted to Neo-Vaishnavism.

Uddaṇḍa of Narsinghpur, Chattresvar Ḍhol of Ghatsila and Harichandan of Nilgiri submitted after the death of Kṛishṇa Chandra. Khān-i-Daurān's attempt to subdue Mayurbhañj did not succeed. He advanced towards Hariharpur but could not actually penetrate westwards of Remunā, where Kṛishṇa Chandra's brother Joy Chandra submitted. The difficulties of the country and the arduous task which awaited him in Central Orissa no doubt deterred him from proceeding further. Beyond Remunā lay the Bonhari forest, beyond which were the Simlipal hills, and the Rājās would no doubt retire on the approach of the Musalmans to their family stronghold of Khiching in the heart of Kolhan. Joy Chandra Bhañja presented three elephants and some money and Khān-i-Daurān confirmed Kṛishṇa Chandra's son and returned through the main road to Katak.

The next chief attacked was the *Gajapati* of Khurda. It appears from the *Muraqāt* that as the nominal head of the Hindu chiefs of Orissa, the Khurda chiefs had suffered more from the Mughals than any other power. They were still the fountain-head of honour in the country. All other Zamindars regarded them as gods, disobedience to whom was a sin (pp. 77 and 102). They waited on him with due humility and honour. Nearly half a century after the departure of Rājā Mān Singh from the country the Rājās of Khurda, instead of being regarded as independent chiefs in alliance with the Mughal emperor, had descended very low in the scale and become feudatories

or Zamindars. Rājā Mukunda Deva, the son and successor of Gaṅgādhara, had succeeded to the throne at the age of four (1662 according to Hunter and 1664 according to Stirling). Both dates are wrong, as the *Muraqāt* describes him as an adult who took a leading part in the war with the Khān-in-Daurān. He was accused of remaining absent from the Mughal army sent to punish the refractory Zamindars and having caused lawlessness personally.

Khān-i-Daurān fell ill at Katak, where he had to remain in bed for two months. He set out from Katak in the 7th February 1660 and arrived at Kalupara, near the Chilka lake, where there were seven forts, close to each other. The outer line of defences and the forts on the hills were stormed and the *Ṣūbāhdār* left for Khurda on the 20th of the same month. He reached Khurda on the 23rd and plundered the defenceless city, which has been deserted by Mukunda Deva. Khān-i-Daurān states that he gave the chiefship of Khurda to Mukunda's younger brother "Bhunarbal", which is spelt by Stirling as "Bhowerber," evidently *Bhramaravara*, a very ordinary title of Orissan nobles. Mukunda Deva was restored later on and confirmed in his possessions. Sir Jadunath Sarkar states, "the fate of the premier Rajah of the province struck a salutary terror in the hearts of other evil-doers." Many of the Zamindars submitted out of fear and revenue began to be collected. Mukunda Deva submitted and appeared before the *Ṣūbāhdār* on the 18th March 1660 and was followed by Bharat Paṭṭanāyaka.

Khān-i-Daurān now turned his attention to the second Bhañja prince, Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa Bhañja of Keonjhar, who had wrested the fort of Bachhara from the men of Shuja',

which has been identified by Sarkar as Pachhara of Stirling and Panchira of the Atlas. The *Ṣūbāhdār* left Katak on 8th March and ravaged Keonjhar after recovering the fort. At a subsequent date Bahādur Khan of Hijli was defeated and captured with his family. Now followed the submission of most of the Zamindars and Chiefs of Orissa. The Bhañja chief of Kanika had taken shelter on an island on the sea-coast where he was besieged by the *Faujdār* Muḥammad Jān. Finally the Rāvat Rāi of Kuyila Madhupur, Harichandra of Kulrah and Chhut Rai of Kalikot were subdued.

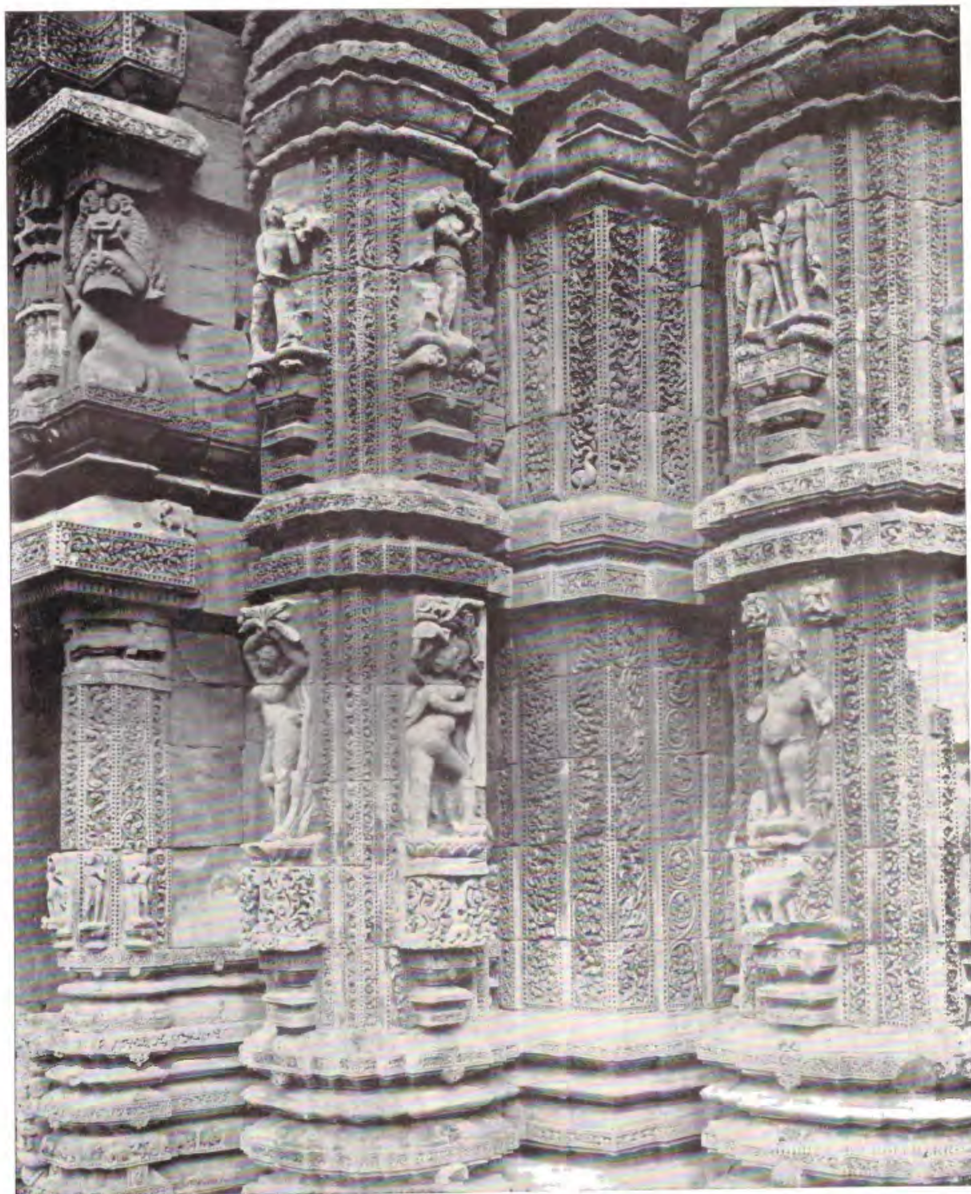
The Khān-i-Daurān could now justly boast of having done what no other Mughal *Ṣūbāhdār* had done in Orissa. He wrote to the emperor Aurangzib, "I have punished all the usurpers, oppressors, and lawless men of the province and made them obedient. The revenue is being collected by our officers. The people are enjoying peace and happiness and plying their trades (*Muraqāt*, p. 49). The province is being well administered."

The *Muraqāt* throws a good deal of light on the condition of Orissa in the middle of the 17th century. Immediately after its pacification Khān-i-Daurān remitted to Delhi the accumulated revenue of 15 lakhs of rupees, kept at Katak and in the parganas, together with seven pieces of cloth (*parchah*), one piece of scarlet cloth, and two caskets of *Chhani* decorated in the Dutch style." (*Muraqāt*, p. 50). The *Ṣūbāhdār* then managed to extort the Mughal shares of the revenue of the Quṭb-shāhī district of Chikakol from the *Faujdār*, Ḥaidar Khān, who asserted that he had paid fixed sums of rupees thirteen thousand every year during the Vice-royalty of prince

Shuja.' But papers sent from Delhi showed that the rate was rupees twenty thousand per annum. Khān-i-Daurān succeeded in extorting rupees 80,000 as arrears. The records of the province of Shuja's time had been lost or destroyed by disloyal and dishonest officers and therefore Mughal officers now found it extremely difficult to ascertain the correct assessment. The Zamindar of Sarangadh used to pay Rs. 10,000 as succession fee but no regular tribute, but the officers of the treasury at Delhi found that his tribute was Rs. 8,000 per annum.

In Mughal times the revenue of Orissa was mostly paid in kind in the form of rice or in cowrie shells. Payment of cowries continued up to the time of the British conquest of the country. The Khān-i-Daurān writes to Muḥammad Jān, a former *Dīwān* of the province, whom he had appointed the steward of his *Jāgir*, "if you fear that before my arrival near Katak the Zamindars will carry of the crops, then write to the *amins* to collect the dues and attach the standing crops. Appoint men to guard the grain." (*Muraqāt*, pp. 163-64). Again he wrote to Mān Singh, the *Faujdār* of Remunā, "send select men to hasten the gathering in and guarding of the crops and the collection of the Government dues...Send them quickly that the revenue of the autumn harvest may not be removed. (*Ibid*., p. 182)."

When Shāyista Khān of Bengal was rebuilding the Mughal *Nāwwārā* for the destruction of the Portuguese pirates of Chittagong, Orissa had to furnish its quota in materials and artisans. Khān-i-Daurān wrote to Muḥammad Jān asking him to advance money to weavers, artisans, oil-vendors and cultivators for articles ordered for the



Details of Ornamentation on the Vimāna of the Rājā-Rāṇī Temple
Bhuvaneśvara—Puri District

fleet. He was directed first of all to settle the price with the brokers and then to take bonds with the attestation of the brokers for the delivery of the goods in time. *Do-sufi* cloth was required for the making of sails, and Muḥammad Jān was directed to send cloth to the *Dārogha* of the fleet. All master-craftsmen and blacksmiths living in the port of Harishpur and other places were directed to be won over and sent to Baleswar for shipbuilding. At the same time Khān-i-Daurān wrote to Muḥammad Jān, "the officers of the Imperial Government have reported that 210 *Kudi* of cloth, of the *sahan*, *barbarah*, *do-sufi* and *thafi* varieties, 20,000 maunds of rice, 300 maunds of mustard oil (yellow oil), 260 maunds of sesamum, 100 maunds of *gulmosafr* are required for the provisioning of the ships of the State. According to the schedule attached to this letter, urge the officers of Jajpur Bhadrak and other Muhals in your Faujdari to get them ready quickly and send them before the sailing season to the port of Baleshwar to Muhammad Baqar, the darogha of ship construction. The price of these things will be deducted from the amounts due from the *Amlas*. Dated 28th December 1664."[1] The revenue system of Mughal Orissa was very intricate. In addition to collections in kind, the rate of which was fixed, but the price fluctuated according to the market, there was another great difficulty in the way of the assessment; the money payment was in *Cowrie* shells, a system which was in vogue in Sylhet till the end of the 18th century. The *Ṣūbah* of Orissa was divided into two parts, the first of which consisted of the three *sarkārs* of Jaleśwar, Bhadrak and Katak. In Orissa

1. *Ibid., pp. 340-41.*

7

this part of the country is known as the *Mughalbandi*. The rest of the country under the semi-independent hill Rājās, was called the Zamindary. In the *Mughalbandi* Imperial revenue was collected by means of the Ijārādars (the modern Zamindars) or by direct collection through revenue officers called *āmils* and *Kroris*. The figures available are not always reliable on account of the difficult system of numeral notation used by Mughal scribes called *Raqāim* "symbolic marks suggestive of Chinese writing." As Sarkar has proved already, Mughal revenue returns are not reliable, as (a) the area assessed was not always the same, (b) the figures given contain only the standard or paper assessment and (c) some of the figures quoted are probably unreliable :

REVENUE OF ORISSA (1594-1707)

1. 1594 A. D. Rs. 31,43,316—*'Āin-i-Ākbarī, Vol. II, pp. 141-44.*
2. 1648 A. D. „ 50,00,000—Abdul Hamid's *Bādshāh-nāmah, II, p. 711.*
3. 1654 A. D. „ 56,39,500—*Dastūr-ul-'Āml* used by E. Thomas.
4. 1665 A. D. „ 72,70,000—Bernier—*Travels, p. 437.*
5. 1690 A. D. „ 35,70,500—*Dastūr-ul-'Āml,* British Museum Or.MS. No. 1641, F. 5b.
6. 1695-1700 „ 43,21,025—*Dastūr-ul-'Āml* used by Thomas.
7. 1695 „ 1,01,02,625—*Khulāsat-ut-tawārīkh, 32a.*
8. 1697-1707 „ 57,07,500—*Manucci—ii, 414.*
9. 1707 „ 35,70,500—*Ramusio.*

10. 1707 Rs. 35,70,275—*Jagjivandas (India Office MS. No. 1799, p. 5.)*

11. Tieffenthaler „ 35,70,525.[1]

Sir Jadunath Sarkar, who compiled this table, stated, "it will be seen that the 5th, 9th, 10th and 11th of the above figures are all derived from the same source, *viz.*, an official return. The amount mentioned in the *Khulāsat-ut-tawārīkh* is clearly wrong. The rather high figures given by Bernier and Manucci are not necessarily incorrect, but may be due to the efficient administration of Khan-i-Daurān and Murshid Quli Khān respectively." The statement copied above requires a longer commentary. The revenue of 1594 was rupees 31,43,316, the smallest on record. It is taken from the *'Āin-i-Ākbarī* and therefore may be correct, but its approach to the figure of 1707 and that given by Tieffenthaler (35,70,275) shows that it must be an "inflated return" and must have included the revenues of the Chikākol and Rājmahendri *Sarkārs*, which the Mughals never possessed. 'Abdul Hamid's figure is a round number and bears on it the stamp of untruth. The three figures quoted by Sarkar from the *Dastūr-ul-'Āml* give more reliable figures. Of these, the figure for 1690 is clearly the same as that given by Tieffenthaler, Ramusio and Jagjivandas. This appears to be the normal figure of the revenue of Orissa. Sarkar thinks that this revenue was increased in 1665 to 72,70,000 and in 1697-1707 to 57,07,500 by the exertions of Khān-i-Daurān and Murshid Quli Khān. The figure for 1665 may have been swelled by the collection of the arrears of the revenue (*Wasilāt Bāqī*), it is clearly not a

[1] *Ibid., p. 342 ; E. Thomas—Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire in India, London 1871, pp. 42-43.*

normal figure as proved by the *Dastūr-ul-'Āml* figures of 1654 and 1690, while Bernier's figure is clearly wrong, as proved by three independant sources of evidence.

Sarkar has given a list of Dīwāns of Orissa from 1657 to 1665:

"Mian Muhammad Jan, ?—1657; dismissed, lived at Baleshwar, afterwards (1661) appointed land-agent of the Subahdar, Khan-i-Dauran.

Mir Ismail, ?—October 1660.

Mirza Ibrahim, Bakhshi, officiates as diwan also, October 1660-March 1661, dismissed.

Muhammad Hashim, March 1661-*c.* 1663, dismissed.

Muhammad Tahir, died in the province.

Muhammad Taqi, *c.* October 1664-1665 (?).

Khwajah Muhammad Mumin, *c.* 1665-?"[1]

The *Muraqāt* gives interesting details about the quarrel between Khān-i-Daurān and the *Dīwān* of revenue of the *Ṣūbah*, Muḥammad Hāshim. On account of the political disturbances in the country from the date of Shāh Jahān's illness to the restoration of order in Orissa by Khān-i-Daurān, a new revenue settlement of the country had to be effected after 1661. The loss of revenue papers, the appointment of a new set of revenue officials, the indifference or dishonesty of the *Dīwāns* of revenue in Orissa caused a serious dislocation of revenue work in this province during the first few years of the reign of Aurangzib. We find from the list given by Sarkar that seven *Dīwāns* of revenue were appointed during seven years from 1657 and 1665. Muḥammad Hāshim arrived as the *Dīwān* of revenue in Orissa in 1661. He received his

[1] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, p. 343.*

appointment from the officiating Imperial Chancellor Rājā Raghunāth Khatri and began his work with zeal. He reached the province with a contempt for his predecessors in office and a suspicion against the *Ṣūbahdār* that the former had been robbing the empire in collusion with the local officers.

The new *Dīwān* began by quarrelling with the *Ṣūbahdār*. He demanded the papers of his two predecessors, Miān Muḥammad Jān and Mīr Ismāil, and in reply the *Ṣūbahdār* wrote on the 1st July 1661 that he had no objection to sending these papers to the *Dīwān*. In addition to this he stated that the *Dīwān's* allegations against Mīr Ibrahim, Bakhshī, were groundless as the revenue collected by his agents in *parganah* Sarasatibisi (*Sarasvatī-vishaya*) will be paid into the Imperial treasury. At the same time an enquiry was ordered into the conduct of the *'Āmil* of *parganah* Karmul against whom the *Dīwān* preferred a charge of misappropriation. The *Dīwān* next called the employees of the Mint to Hariharpur without the sanction of the *Ṣūbahdār* or of the Imperial Government. Hāshim then stopped the pay of the men and officers of the Imperial artillery stationed in Orissa though the regulations of the empire laid down that they should be paid in cash. In reporting the conduct of Muḥammad Hāshim to the emperor Aurangzib, Khān-i-Daurān writes :

"The mahals of crown-land (*Khālsā*) have been reduced to desolation and their affairs have fallen into confusion, by reason of the harsh assessment (*Tashkhis*) of an unsuitable amount of revenue and the neglect of attention to details by Muhammad Hashim, the diwan. The villages have been ruined by his harsh exactions. He used to

transact business in this way: when a candidate for revenue-collectorship (*krori*) accepted the post, Hashim Khan used to impose on him the (paper) assessment of the pargana and send him there before he could learn about the (actual) yield of the place. After a short time, another man was secured for the same post, and Hashim Khan, taking money for himself from this man, dismissed the former collector, appointed the second man and made him promise in writing to pay a larger revenue than the first *krori* had engaged for. After a little more, a third man appeared, offering a still higher sum to the State, and he was sent as collector to the pargana, on his giving a bribe to Hashim Khan and signing a bond *(muchalka)* for the payment of a larger revenue. The Khan never informed the Zamindars, headmen (*Chaudhuris*) and ryots about this assessment (*jama-bandi*), but kept them full of anxieties and distraction as to the State demand. He has thus increased the revenue (on paper) two-fold in some places and three-fold in others, while the ryots, unable to pay, have fled (from their homes) and the villages have turned into a wilderness."[1]

Rājā Raghunath Khatri, the parton of Muḥammad Hāshim, died on the 2nd June 1663 and the latter was removed from office either late in 1662 or early in 1663.

Sarkar's list of the *Ṣūbahdārs* of Orissa is only partly complete. Khān-i-Daurān was succeeded in June 1667 by Tarbiyat Khān who governed the province till May 1669. Other accounts place one Kobād Khān, Mir Akbar in 1668, before Tarbiyat Khān. Mukundadeva remained on the

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 344-45.

throne for 34 years according to Stirling[1] and 28 years according to Hunter. Stirling's earlier account credits him with a reign of 28 years.[2] The temple records of Puri credit Mukundadeva with the conquest of the whole country up to the banks of the Ganges, a very unlikely feat for a petty Rājā of Orissa during the reign of Aurangzib 'Alamgīr. Tarbiyat Khān was succeeded in October 1669 by Safi Khān whose period of government is not known. He is perhaps called "Ruffee Ckanns Nabob of Orissa" by certain English writers, who confirmed the privileges of the English merchants granted by Aurangzib in his 13th year.[3] He in turn was succeeded by Rashid Khān.[4] Rashid Khān's tenure of office came to an end in March 1676[5] when Shāyista Khān I, apparently Aurangzib's maternal uncle and the *Ṣūbahdār* of Bengal, governed the province till the end of that year. There is a gap of two years after Shāyista Khān which was perhaps filled by Sāliḥ Khān. In June 1678 one Nūrullah came as the agent of prince 'Āzam, then *Ṣūbahdār* of Bengal. We do not know as yet who was governing the province from 1678[6] till about the end of the 17th century. In the beginning of the 18th century one Kāmgār Khān was succeeded in 1704 by Murshid Quli Khān, the future

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Old Series Vol. VI. 1837, p. 764.*

[2] *Asiatick Researches, Vol. XV, p. 294.*

[3] *Hedges' Diary Hakluy Society. Vol. III p. 191.*

[4] Safsikan Khān intervened in 1673—*Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri p. 38.*

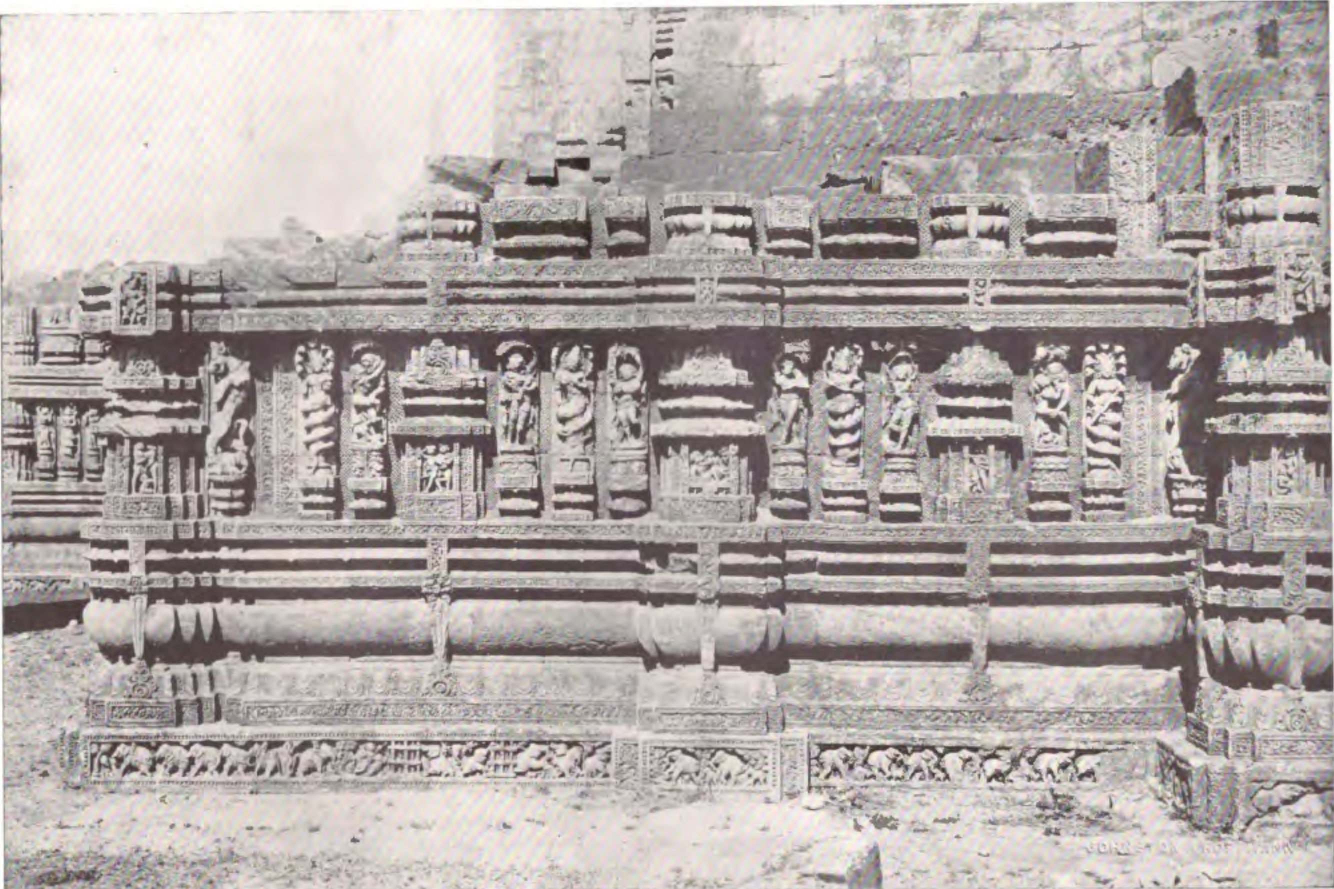
[5] Rashid Khān also granted a *farman* to the English—*Countries round the Bay of Bengal, note to p. 153.*

[6] Abu Noor Khān (1682), Akram Khān (1697)—*Ibid.*

Ṣūbahdār of Bengal. A year before his death Aurangzib committed the signal mistake of appointing Murshid Qulī's son-in-law, Shuja'uddin Muḥammad Khān, as the deputy governor (Na'ib Naẓim) of Orissa. This was the beginning of the dissolution of the empire and the hereditary succession of offices, in the combined *Sūbah* of Bengal and Bihar.

Like the rest of the Mughal empire under Aurangzib 'Alamgir, Orissa suffered from the very great deep-rooted hatred of non-believers and the iconoclastic zeal of that emperor. Along with other provinces a Censor of Public morals (*Muḥtasib*) was was appointed in Orissa and the first incumbent of that office was Shaikh Junaid in Katak.[1] "His duties were to enforce the prophet's laws and put down the practices forbidden by him...... The punishment of heretical opinions, blasphemy and omission of prayers and fast by Muslims also lay within the province of this Inquisition.[2]" Under Shaik Junaid there were two Qāzis in Katak, one of whom, Rahamatullah, was dismissed for misconduct and "violation of canon law" and was succeeded by Sayyid Muhammad Ghauṣ, both as Qāzī and Mīr-i'-Adl (Chief Justice) on a salary of Rs. 4 daily. We do not know how the temples of Orissa, especially the magnificent shrines of Bhuvaneswar, escaped destruction. The *Muraqāt* states that "Khān-i-Daurān wrote to his agent Muḥammad Jān that the destruction of the temple of Kendrapada and the building of a mosque there has greatly pleased me.' The Imperial order was communicated

1. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, p. 346.*
2. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib, Vol. III, 2nd edition, pp. 82-83.*



Details of Ornamentation of the Plinth—Sūrya Deul
Konārak—Puri District

to all *Faujdārs, Thānadars, Muṭasaddis,* Agents of *Jāgīrdars, Krorīs* and *'Āmils* from Katak to Medinipur that "the Imperial pay-master Asad Khan has sent a letter written by order of the Emperor to say that the Emperor learning from the news-letters of the province of Orissa that at the village of Tilkuti in Medinipur a temple has been newly built, has issued his august mandate for its destruction and the destruction of all temples built anywhere in this province by...... infidels, therefore you are commanded with extreme urgency that immediately on receipt of this letter you should destroy the abovementioned temples. Every idol-house built during the last 10 or 12 years, whether with brick or clay, should be demolished without delay. Also do not allow the....infidels to repair their old temples.[1]"

Sometime about 1692, *i. e.*, late in the reign of Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr, the three Orissa *Sarkārs* of Jaleswar, Bhadrak and Katak were found to be too unwieldy for revenue purposes and were divided into twelve *Sarkārs.* These divisions, recorded in Grant's analysis of the finances of Bengal, can be correctly dated on account of the names of the chiefs of Orissa appended to it. The *Sarkār* of Jaleswar was divided into :

(1)	Jaleswar-22 mahals	Rs.	3,99,602
(2)	Maljhetia-21 mahals	,,	3,08,855
(3)	Goalpara-28 mahals	,,	6,83,218
(4)	Mazkuri-11 mahals		1,88,799

1. The entire chapter is based on Sir Jadunath Sarkar's researches in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. II, pp. 153-65, 338-49, Vol. VII, pp. 53-56.*

The *Sarkār* of Bhadrak was similarly divided into four other *Sarkārs* :

(5)	Bhadrak-19 mahals	Rs.	4,02,131
(6)	Soro-15 mahals	,,	1,97,814
(7)	Ramna-20 mahals	,,	2,18,458
(8)	Bastah-10 mahals	,,	1,18,752

The *Sarkār* of Katak was also divided into four *Sarkārs* :

(9)	Katak-100 mahals	Rs.	19,86,156
(10)	Barwah-9 mahals	,,	1,21,490
(11)	Jajpur-5 mahals		2,27,208
(12)	Badshahnagar-16 mahals	,,	2,09,014

The total revenue from these twelve *Sarkārs* was Rs.49,61,497. From this amount the rent of 32 mahals then unconquered, *i. e.*, in the possession of indigenous chiefs of Orissa, valued at Rs. 8,73,518, was deducted, making the nett revenue of the *Ṣūbah* of Orissa Rs. 40,87,979.

The date of the division of the three original *Sarkārs* into 12 can be determined by the mention of the Gajapati Rājā of Khurdah who heads the list of feudatory chiefs who ruled over these 32 mahals :

"1.	To Rajah Derrup Sing Deo, heir of line and representative of the royal house of Gajeputty; guardian of the Tajore, Duarah or Jaggernaut, and proprietor of 11 mehals dependent on the Kellah of Khurdah		6,15,616
2.	Rajah Muckender, of the fort of Aul	2	26,121
3.	Ramchunder, &c of Sarengurrah	2	36,973

4. Sirbeser Bunjee, of Bahmenhutty, &c.	2	80,875
5. Herchunder, of Derepen	1	37,088
6. Persotim Bunjee, of Rientoo	2	10,883
7. Ragonaht Sindh, of Coojung	2	9,126
8. Raotera, of Mudhoor	1	5,921
9. Teigchund Dhol, of Kerapoor	1	6,470
10. Ramsah, of Nagpoor, &c	2	9,705
11. Jaggernaut Dhol, of Chatnah	1	16,175
12. Mahomed Yar, of Cassijurah	1	2,000
13. Gerdher Narrain, of Chourassijurah	1	6,235
14. Bubhedir, of Mynajura	1	4,700
15. Nancar of the pergunnah of Susso	2	5,630
		5,630
In all 27 whole and 5 kissmut mehals, rated		8,73,518"[1]

This "Derrup Sing Deo" is undoubtedly Divya Siṁha Deva I, the son and successor of Mukunddeva I, who ruled from 1692-93 to 1719-20. His name is written as Driva Simha in the inscription on the metal wheel on the top of the *Vimāna* of the temple of Jaggannātha at Puri.[2]

[1] *The fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, Vol. I, Madras, 1866, p. 527.*

[2] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, old series, Vol. LXVII, 1898, part I, pp. 381-2.*

The partition of the three *Sarkārs* into the twelve, therefore, must belong to the reign of Aurangzib 'Alamgir, but neither Grant[1] nor Stirling[2] who copied it *verbatim* mention the date of this partition. The list contains some interesting names, one of which is Sarveśvara Bhañja of Bamanhati or Mayurbhanj. It proves that up to the reign of Divya Siṁha, the chiefs of Darpan, who are represented by Harachandra, had not turned Musalman. Another interesting name is Purushottama Bhañja of the place called "Ryntoo," which I am unable to identify. It shows that Nagpur, Chhātna and Kerapur were still included in Orissa. Chhātna is now in the Bankura district, Nagpur in the Ranchi district and Kerapur in the Manbhum district.

During the reign of Divya Siṁha I Aurangzib sent orders to Mir Saiyad Maḥmūd of Bilgram to destroy the temple and idol of Jagannātha, according to the *Tabṣirat-ul-Nāẓirin*. Divya Siṁha was compelled to break the statue of a Rākshasa which stood over the entrance to the temple and surrender the wooden images, which were carried off to Bijapur, where the emperor then was. This account is corroborated by one of the manuscripts of the *Mādalā Pānji*, which states that during the government of Ikrām Khān, in the seventh *aṅka*, the temple of Jagannātha was damaged according to the orders of the emperor Aurangzib and the Nawab went inside the temple. This desecration took place on the 17th May 1697. Divya Siṁha was a patron of Oriya literature, as three

1 *Fifth Report on the Affairs of the East India Company, Vol. I. pp, 526-27.*

2 *Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV p. 213. Note.*

poets, Upendra Bhañja, Bhupati Paṇḍita and Viśvanātha Khuntiā, mention him.[1] Divya Siṁha I of Khurdah continued to rule for 13 years after the death of Aurangzib and died about 5 years before the death of Ja'afar Khān Nāṣiri Nāṣir Jang.

The Mughal mint at Katak began to issue coins from the time of Akbar I both in gold and silver. It continued up to the end of Aurangzib's reign and was the only mint in Mughal Orissa. The name Katak Banaras has been found on one of the *Dāms* of Akbar. Some very rare rupees of Jahāngir with *Ilāhi* year have been discovered. Of Shāh Jahān's rupees those bearing the *Kalima* but with the *Ilāhi* year were also issued from this mint, *Muhars* and rupees of Aurangzib are still found in fairly large numbers all over Orissa, but his copper coins are rather rare. The fine collection of Mughal coins in the Lahore Museum contains only one specimen.[2]

The first new English settlement in the province of Orissa was effected during the Mughal rule. In March 1633 eight Englishmen started in an Indian ship and arrived at the mouth of the Mahanadi, where their boat cast anchor at the Mughal customs-station of Harishpur. The port officer was a Rājā and received them kindly. On the same day a Portuguese frigate came into the port and began to quarrel with the English. The latter were saved by the Rājā and their chief Ralph Cartwright left the port in charge of the crew, and the port officer proceeded to

[1] *Journal of the Asiatick Society of Bengal, old series, Vol. LXVII, 1898, part I, pp. 381-82.*

[2] R. B. Whitehead—*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, Vol. II, pp. xcv, 268.*

Katak to the court of the Na'ib Nāẓim of Orissa. The Na'ib received them kindly, and negotiations followed. Cartwright had come with two distinct objects: licence for trade and redress for the Portuguese attack on them. A counter-complaint was lodged against the English by the Portuguese captain. The governor decided both cases by ordering the confiscation of both vessels. Cartwright rose from the Na'ib Nāẓim's Durbar in great rage but was re-called. The Portuguese frigate was retained but on the 5th May 1633 the Na'ib Nāẓim gave to Cartwright a licence to trade free of custom at any port of Orissa, to purchase land, erect buildings and build or repair ships. Next day the Na'ib invited the Englishmen to a feast and then sent them away. Cartwright built a factory at Hariharpur in the Mahanadi delta and in the next month founded the factory of Balasore. The council of English merchants as Masulipatan supported their own men by sending them the ship *Swan* just arrived from England with its entire cargo. The *Swan* arrived at Harishpur on the 22nd July 1633, but as Cartwright was not there, she sailed on to Balasore. The English venture in Orissa ended in disaster. The *Swan* had broad-cloth and lead, which could not be sold at Balasore for nearly a year. Cheap living and malaria of the country caused terrible havoc among the Englishmen. Before the end of the year five out of six factors were dead. The Portuguese and the Dutch now began to trouble them very much. Portuguese pirates from the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal attacked their boats in the river mouths and a Dutch fleet from the Madras coast blocaded them with pinaces of 10 to 16 guns with an occasional ship. Cartwright had planned founding

fresh factories at Puri and Pipli, but he was compelled to give up the idea. His main factory at Harishpur fell into decay on account of the silting of the river mouth. Very soon Balasore was the only English factory left in Orissa and the Company in England began to look upon the Orissa settlement as an unprofitable burden. In 1641 the *Diamond* was ordered to go to Orissa and bring away the English factors after paying their debts. Balasore was saved by Francis Day, the founder of Madras in 1642. He protested against the abolition of that factory and succeeded in saving it. In 1650 the English company decided to found a settlement in Bengal and the Madras Council resolved to make Balasore a port of transhipment whence cargoes could be carried in Indian boats to Hooghly. But in 1657 the Madras Council again decided to abolish Balasore. On this occasion the factory was saved by Cromwell, who placed the affairs of the Company on a broader basis. Hooghly became the principal settlement in Bengal and Balasore was placed under its control. The factory was administered by a chief and three councillors.

Early English records mention a chief named "Tillibichrum Bunge," evidently Trivikrama Bhañja, whose territories lay close to Balasore.[1] He is also known from a land-grant issued in his 32nd *Āṅka*, a photograph of which is preserved in the Archaeological office of the Mayurbhanj State. The grant shows the very early assumption of independence by the Bhañja kings of Mayurbhanja, before the extinction of the pseudo-Gajapatis of Khurda. It is dated *Āmli* year 1093=1682 A.D.[2]

[1] *Countries round the Bay of Bengal, p. 162, note 3.*
[2] *Vanshanucharita,* edited by P. Acharya B. Sc., *Baripada, 1917, p. 8. App. A.*

In 1686 the English East India Company had a long dispute with Nawāb Shāyista Khān I *Ṣūbahdār* of Bengal and maternal uncle of the Emperor Aurangzib 'Alamgir. Totally ignorant of the strength and resources of the Mughal Empire, in 1686 the Court of Directors of the English Company decided to make war upon it. They sent out a fleet of 10 ships under Nicholson with orders to break up the factory at Balasore and then to go to Dacca to compel the Mughal *Ṣūbahdār* to agree to a favourable treaty. Nicholson was unable to come to Balasore, as bad weather compelled him to enter the Hooghly. He found the Englishmen in Bengal in the swamps of Sūtānuti (present Calcutta) whence they were driven to Hijli in 1687. Job Charnock, the English Chief in Bengal, sent some of the ships to Balasore. But before they arrived the Englishmen in that part were taken prisoners and sent inland. The English soldiers and sailors captured Balasore fort and plundered the town. The English ships also captured two Mughal ships, but Aurangzib, then busy with the siege of Golkonda, paid little heed to this filibustering expedition.[1] In 1688 the English Company sent another fleet to conquer Chittagong, and Heath, the commander, attacked Balasore, captured the battery and plundered the city. Balasore remained unoccupied for four years.[2]

The English were the earliest settlers at Balasore, but the Dutch had followed the fallen fortunes of the Portuguese at Pipli. They followed the English at Balasore and

[1] C. R. Wilson—*Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 106-7.*

[2] *Ibid., pp. 120-21.*



Door Frame from Udayagiri
Cuttack District

purchased a plot of land from Muta'qad Khān in 1645. There was a dispute between the Dutch and the English in 1663 which was settled by Nawāb Shāyista Khān I. The Danes founded a factory in Balasore in 1676 and were followed by the French. The Dutch settlement lay behind the native town and is still called "Ulān Shāhi." It lingered on till 1825, when the area, seven acres, was ceded to the British. The moat round the Dutch factory is still called "Ulān Nālā." The Danish factory was further up the creek and at a greater distance from the town. The land held by the Danes, also seven acres, is called *Dinămăr Dăṅgă* and was ceded to the British in 1846. The French settlement is also on the river and consists of about 38 acres. It is still held by the French nation and is under the control of the Administrator of Chandernagore. It is leased out annually by public auction.[1]

In 1690 when the English East India Company had realised the impossibility of bringing the Mughal Emperor under their control, they submitted and received permission to rebuild their factory in Bengal. Balasore was re-occupied in 1690 and new buildings erected. Here the English merchants continued to trade peacefully till they were rudely disturbed by the Maratha incursions from 1744 to 1751.

[1] *Bengal District Gazetteer, Balasore, pp. 188-90.*

9

CHAPTER XXV.

ORISSA UNDER THE NAZIMS OF BENGAL.

With the appointment of Muḥammad Ḥādī, *alias* Kartalab Khān *alias* Murshid Qulī Khān Ja'afar Khān Nāṣiri, the history of Orissa takes a new turn. His distinguished services in the Deccan when Aurangzib was the Viceroy had won the approbation of all right-minded men and he became one of the most trusted officers of the empire when Aurangzib rose to the throne. Up to 1701 he was the Dīwān of revenues in Orissa and in that year was transferred to Bengal as the Dīwān with the title of Murshid Qulī Khān.[1] From Bengal Murshid Qulī supplied immense sums of money to meet the insatiable needs of the Deccan wars. He was assured by Aurangzib in writing that all his prayers would be readily granted and nobody's complaints against him would be heard. The *Ṣūbahdārī* of Orissa being temporarily in abeyance, he was appointed *Faujdār* of Orissa a little before 1704.[2] Among the great Musalman traitors of the 18th century, to whom the dismemberment of the Mughal empire is due, Murshid Qulī Khān stands in the foremost rank. Long before Chin Kilich Khān, Niẓām-ul-Mulk, Aṣaf Jāh I, and Sa'adat Khān, Burhān-ul-Mulk, Murshid Qulī started the game by defeating Rashid Khān, the nominee of the new emperor Farrukhsiyar outside Murshidabad in 1713.[3]

1 Sarkar—*History of Aurangzib. Vol. V, p. 376.*

2 *Ibid., pp. 378-79.*

3. W. Irvine—*Later Mughals, Vol. I, p. 199.*

Of course, his excuse was that Farrukhsiyar was yet but a pretender and was the son of his old enemy 'Azim-ush-shān. But his offences were forgotten when Farrukhsiyar ascended the throne of Delhi. Murshid Qulī Khān was appointed the deputy of the young baby Farkhunda Bakht Jahāngīr Shāh, son of the emperor, in Bengal; he became the *Ṣūbahdār* of Orissa in his own name.[1] Even before his confirmation as Viceroy the traitor paved the way for hereditary succession in the north-eastern provinces of the empire by the appointment of his son-in-law, Shuja'uddin as his deputy in Orissa during the lifetime of Aurangzib. Murshid Qulī, already famous for his revenue reforms, revised the revenue settlement in Bengal and in Orissa, which is quoted by Grant in his analysis of the finances of Bengal. The first mention is to be found in the account entitled "Progressive account of the Settlement of Bengal from 1582 to 1763."[2] The next mention of the six *Sarkārs* which were left to Bengal on the Orissa side for the purpose of, as Grant says, "subjecting the whole coast, liable to the invasion of the Moggs, to the same royal jurisdiction of the Nowarah, or admiralty of boats stationed always at Dacca."[3] A very interesting list has been quoted by Grant of these six *Sarkārs* :

20th—Goālpārā, kismat or part of a *Sarkār* including Tamluk and some other small interior districts, 3 *parganas*—Rs. 1,14,609.

21st—Māljhetiā, kismat including Hijli, Jalamutha,

1 *Ibid., p. 262.*

2 *Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, Vol. I, Madras, 1866, p. 189.*

3 *Ibid., p. 246.*

Darodumna, Mahisadal with the salt mahals of those districts, 17 *parganas*—Rs. 1,89,432.

22nd—Mazkuri, kismatia, including Balishahi, with some districts in the vicinity of Balasore, 4 *parganas*—Rs. 25,285.

23rd—Jaleswar the ancient *Haweli* of that *Sarkār* in its former state together with Birkul, 7 *parganas*—Rs. 53,901.

24th—Ramna, including Suhant, beyond the Suvarṇarekhā 3 *parganas*—Rs. 23,272.

25th—Basta, kismatia, including the lands in the neighbourhood of the port of Balasore as far as the southern extremity of the Nilgiri hills, 4 *parganas*—Rs.12,422. Total acquisition of territory to Bengal on the side of Orissa rated in the original *Jama'-kharach* account of 1112 A. H., 38 *parganas*—Sicca rupees 4,15,921.

This revenue settlement is called *Kāmil Tumār Jama'* and was finished in the 4th year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, B. S., 1128, A. H., 1135, A. D., 1722. Among the *Chaklahs* are included those of Bandar Balasore and Hijli :

"1st.—Bunder Balasore, including the port and adjacent lands, in the Kissmut or divided Circars of Rumneh, Busteh and Muscoory, dismembered from the soubah of Orissa, and annexed to Bengal in the reign of Shah Jehan as before set forth, since again, about the year 1750, for the most part restored to the former province, but originally comprized in Jaffier Khan's Jumma Toomary account of the latter, and rated ... Mhals. 17 ... Rs.1,08,876.

2nd.—Hejelle, compounded of the Kissmut Circars of Maljeteah, Jalasir and Muscoory in Orissa, comprising in the proportion nearly of nine to one the madhoory or fresh, and nemucky or salt lands of Jellamootah, Derudumneh Mhesadul, etc. ... purghs. 35 ... Rs. 4,18,589.

Total annexations from Orissa, except Temooluck purghs. 52 . . . Rs. 5,27,465."[1]

The total collection from the *Ṣūbah* of Orissa from the first of the month of Ṣafar of the year 1 of Farrukhsiyar to the 5th of the month of Zil-qa'dāh of the 9th year of Muḥammad Shāh (total 15 years 9 months and 5 days) was Rs. 38,37,151-9-2.[2] Remittances of treasure to Delhi amounted to the same. Two new imposts were levied by Murshid Qulī Khān on Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, (1) *Ābwāb Ja'afar Khānī* and (2) *Ābwāb Khāsnawīsī*, which was a fee extracted from the Zamindars at the time of the renewal of their leases by the officers of the departments of crown-lands (*Mutaṣaddīān Khālṣā*).[3]

According to the *Riyāz-us-Salāṭīn*, the *Chaklah* of Medinipur was separated from the *Ṣūbah* of Orissa by Murshid Qulī Khān.[4] Following the arrangements made by him in the Deccan, the great financier of Aurangzib tried to collect revenue direct from the tenants. The *'Āmils* in Bengal and Orissa sent *Shiqdars* and *'Āmins* to every village of the *parganah* who measured cultivated and waste land, leased them back to the tenants plot by plot and advanced agricultural loans (*Taqqāvī*).[5] His principal service to Aurangzib was the punctual remittance of the immense amount of the increased revenues of the *Ṣūbahs* under him, one kror and three lakhs of rupees. For this service he received the title of Muta'min-ul-mulk 'Alā-ud-daulah Ja'afar Khān Nāṣirī Naṣir Jang with the personal

1 *Ibid., p. 253.*
2 *Ibid., p. 281.*
3 *Ibid., p. 276.*
4 *Riyāz-us-Salāṭīn, Eng. trans., p. 255.*
5 *Ibid., p. 256.*

command of seven thousand and the rank of the Order of the Fish (*Māhīwa-marātib*). No appointments were made in Bengal without the advice of Ja'afar Khān Nāṣiri.[1] Other Musalman histories mention a number of officers, who served as *Nāẓims* or *Nāib Nāẓims* under Murshid Quli: Muḥammad Rizā and Izzuddaulah Khān-i-'Alam *alias* Khān-Jahān Bahādur.[2] The total amount of revenue remitted rose to one kror and fifty lakhs. After the death of Saiyad Rāzi Khān, the Dīwān of Bengal, Mirzā Aṣadullah, *alias* Sarāfrāz Khān, son of Shuja'uddin Muḥammad Khān, Nā'ib Nāẓim of Orissa, was made *Dīwān* of Bengal by Farrukhsiyar. In the same year we hear for the first time of Mīrzā Luṭfullah, a son-in-law of Shuja'uddin Muḥammad Khān, who was made *Faujdār* of Dacca-Jahāngirnagar.[3] Upon the accession of Muḥammad Shāh in 1720 the *Ṣūbahdārī* of the three provinces were granted to Ja'afar Khān Nāṣiri.[4] During his last days Ja'afar Khān tried to get the *Sanad* of *Ṣūbahdārī* granted to Sarāfrāz Khān, the the son of Shuja'uddin Muḥammad Khān, by the former's daughter Zinat-un-nisa Begum; but his attempts were frustrated by Shuja'uddin, who remained in direct communication with the court of Shāhjahānābād-Delhi. The arrangements made were thorough. He wrote to the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, his *Wazīr* Amīr-ul-'umārā Khān-i-Daurān Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah Khwājah 'Aṣim. Messengers were despatched to Delhi and Murshidabad and trusted officers were outwardly dismissed from service

1 *Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri, p. 38 and note.*

2 *Riyāz-us-Salāṭīn, p. 274.*

3 *Ibid., p. 276.*

4 *Ibid., p. 260.*

and secretly instructed to proceed by different roads to Murshidabad, with orders to keep themselves ready within a short distance of Ja'afar Khān's palace and be ready day and night to execute new orders transmitted from Katak. A new post was established between Katak and Murshidabad to bring intelligence about the condition of Ja'afar Khān Nāṣirī. When news was received that Ja'afar Khān could hardly survive for a week, Shuja'uddīn set out with trusted friends towards Murshidabad. Muḥammad Taqī Khān, his son by another wife, was left in charge of Orissa. On the way Shuja'-uddin heard that Ja'afar Khān had breathed his last.[1] At Delhi the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh conferred the *Ṣūbahdārī* of Bengal on Amīr-ul-'umāra Khān-i-Daurān Ṣamṣām-ud-daulah and the latter sent his *Sanad* of appointment as his deputy, to Shuja'uddīn. Shuja' received the order at Medinipur.[2] On arrival at Murshidabad he found that his son, Sarāfrāz Khān, was in his pleasure pavilion outside the city. So he went to the Durbar Hall of Ja'afar Khān Nāṣirī, called the palace of *Chihl Satun*, sent for the Imperial News-writer (*Waqia-nawīsh*) and the head of the Imperial Intelligence Department (*Siwanih-nāwīsh*) and had his order of appointment read publicly. Sarāfrāz Khān had to acquiesce in his father's accession to the *gadi* or *masnad* of Murshidabad.[3]

Shuja'uddin was a native of Burhānpur, the ancient capital of the province of Khāndesh. He claimed to be a member of the Turkish tribe of Afshar of Khurasan, and rose to be the *Dīwān* of Bengal on account of his

1 *Sair-ul-Mutakharin, Eng. trans., Cambray & Co., Vol. I, pp. 277-78*

2 *Riyaz. Eng. trans., p. 287.*

3 *Sa'ir., Vol. I, p. 278.*

marriage with Ja'afar Khān's daughter in the time of the Emperor Aurangzib and the Na'ib Nāẓim of Orissa in 1706.[1] He was a man of vile moral character and had separated from Zinat-un-nisa immediately after his appointment to Orissa. His principal confidants were the brothers Ḥāji Aḥmad and Aliwardi Khān, the Hindu Rai Alamchand[2] and a Marwari Bania named Fatḥ-chand, who was subsequently created *Jagat-seṭh*. Shuja'uddin confirmed his second son, Muḥammad Taqī, in the government of Orissa. Later on when Fakhr-ud-daulah was dismissed from the *Ṣūbahdāri* of Bihar, that government was conferred by the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh on Shuja'uddin and the latter sowed the seeds of the downfall of his own house by appointing his favourite Aliwardi as his deputy in Aẓimābād—Patna.[3] Shuja'uddin was very kind to the Zamindars of Bengal, many of whom were in confinement in prisons at Murshidabad when Ja'afar Khān died, and set them at liberty. He raised one kror and fifty lakhs of rupees from the provinces which he remitted as revenue to Delhi through the banking house of Seṭh Fatḥ-chand. By selling the property of Ja'afar Khān, he raised another forty lakhs which he also remitted to Delhi according to the Mughal custom of escheat of a deceased officer's property to the Crown. For this he received a title of Muta'min-ul-mulk, Shuja'-ud-daulah Shuja'uddin Muḥammad Khān Bahādur Aṣad Jang and the command of seven thousand with 7,000 additional troopers, besides a fringed *pālkī*[4], a jewelled

1 *Ibid., pp. 274-.7*

2 *Ibid., p. 279.*

3 *Ibid., pp. 280-81.*

4 *Riyāz., Eng. trans., p. 290.*



General View of the Lion-Gate with the Aruṇa Stambha from Konārak
Temple of Jagannātha at Puri

sword and an elephant and a horse. Rai Alamchand, who was a clerk attached to Shuja's household in Orissa, now became the deputy *Dīwān* of Bengal and received the title of *Rāi-i-Rāyān*, [1] for the first time, with the command of 1,000. Muḥammad Taqī Khān, Shuja's Nāi'b Nāẓim of Orissa, quarelled with his step-brother Sarāfrāz Khān, on account of the machinations of the traitors—Ḥājī Aḥmad, Fatḥ-chand and Alamchand--and came from Orissa to Bengal. Taqi Khān disposed his troops on the western side of the river Bhagirathi while Sarāfrāz drew up his army at Naktākhālī (near Murshidabad railway station). Open fighting between the brothers was stopped by the personal efforts of their father. Muḥammad Taqi returned to Orissa and was killed according to Muḥammadan superstition by witchcraft. Shuja now appointed his son-in-law, Murshid Quli Khān II, as the Nā'ib Nāẓim of Orissa from the *Faujdārī* of Jahāngīrnagar-Dacca. This Murshid Qūlī II had a personal adherent named Mīr Ḥabīb, a Persian of Shiraz, who spoke Persian fluently and is one of the notable figures in the history of Bengal and Orissa of the 18th century. He was one of the very few Indian Musalmans of the 18th century who did not turn traitor to his own master and his own community at the first provocation. Among the crowd of Musalman traitors who hastened the final disruption of the Mughal empire Mīr Ḥabīb towers aloft in the midst of Mīr Jafar 'Alīs of Murshidabad and Muḥammad 'Alīs of Arkat. He came to the port of Hughly and earned his living as a clerk of the Mughal merchants. He entered the service of Murshid Qūlī II during the lifetime of Murshid Qūlī I and went with the former to

[1] *Ibid., p. 293.*

Jahāngirnagar-Dacca, where he succeeded in curtailing the expenses of the Imperial flotilla (*Nāwwārā*). There both Murshid Qūlī II and he acquired wealth by trade. The conquest of *Chaklah* Raushanābād, the sub-montane tract of Tipperah, is also attributed to him. When the Nāib Niẓāmat of Orissa was bestowed by Shuja'uddin on Murshid Qūlī II, the emperor Muḥammad Shāh bestowed on him the title of *Rūstam Jang*. But at the time of his departure, Sarāfrāz Khān detained Murshid Qūlī's son, Yāhyā Khān, and his wife Durdanah *Begum* as hostages at Murshidabad. Upon their arrival at Orissa, Mir Ḥabīb, lately created [1] a *Khān*, found that the temple of Jagannātha was empty, that god having been removed to one of the islands of the Chilka lake on account of the ravages of Muḥammad Taqī Khān. Stirling states that Muḥammad Taqī Khān entrapped Rājā Rāmchandra Deva II of Khurdah, who killed his Diwan "Bumoo" *Bhramaravara* and exercised authority in his country. Afterwards he escaped through the intervention of "Sree Jeo" (? the god Jagannātha) and recovered possession of his country but was killed in a contest with the Musalmans. This Rāmachandra II is said to have ruled for the twelve years[2], according to Stirling, 1727—1743, [3] but from 1725 to 1736 according to Hunter. [4] On account of the cessation of worship in the great temple of Jagannātha the Imperial revenues from pilgrims had fallen of by nine lakhs. A Rājā named Danda Deo is said to

[1] *Ibid., pp. 299-303.*

[2] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VI, part II, 1837 p. 765.*

[3] *Asiatick Researches, Vol. XV, p. 294.*

[4] *Orissa, Vol. II, App. p. 190.*

have brought Jagannātha back from the hill in the Chilka lake to the temple at Puri after pacifying Murshid Qūlī II and Mīr Ḥabīb.[1] Rāja Danda Deva cannot be readily identified.

Shuja'-uddīn Muḥammad Khān died about the time of Nadir Shāh's invasion of India (1739).[2] The Imperial Court was prostrate at the feet of the Persian conqueror and therefore Sarāfrāz Khān succeeded without any trouble, but the opposition came from the Hindu and Musalman vipers whom Shuja'-uddīn had nursed ; Ḥājī Aḥmad, 'Alīwardī Khān, *Jagatseṭh* Fatḥchand and *Raī-i-rāyān* Alamchand. On this subject the testimony of Ghulām Ḥusain cannot be trusted, as he was personally related and very greatly indebted to 'Alīwardī Khān and his nephews. The anonymous author of the *Riyāz*, who calls himself Ghulām Ḥusain Salīm, is more trustworthy on account of his bold criticism of the worst offenders of the province of Bengal. According to this authority these traitors induced Sarāfrāz Khān to issue coins in the name of Nādir Shāh and then reported the matter to the Court through Kamruddīn Khān and Chīnkilich Khān Niẓām-ul-mulk Aṣaf Jāh I. They obtained a *sanad* granting the *Ṣūbahdārī* to 'Alīwardī and authorising the execution of Sarāfrāz Khān on a charge of treason. 'Alīwardī had been appointed Nāib Nāẓim of Patna by the deceased Shuja'-uddīn but his principal agents at Court were the accursed trio, his brother Ḥājī Aḥmad and the two Hindus, the Marwari Bania Jagatseṭh and a Kāyasth Alam Chand. They advised the young *Ṣūbahdār* to reduce the strength of his

1 *Riyāz., Eng. trans., p. 303.*

2 *Ibid., p. 307, Sā'ir, Eng. trans., Vol. I, p. 322.*

army and sent secret intelligence to 'Alīwardi Khān at Patna to enlist men dismissed by Sarāfrāz Khān. Too late Sarāfrāz Khān tried to remove 'Alīwardi from the *Nāib Niẓāmat* of Patna and Ḥājī Aḥmad's son-in-law 'Aṭāullah Khān from the *Faujdārī* of Rajmahal and the command of the Sakrigali and Teliyagadhi passes; but the council of traitors persuaded the young man to delay the dismissal. The result of the battle of Ghariya or Garhiya, which decided the fate of Bengal and Orissa is very well-known. Among the officers on the side of Sarāfrāz Khān are mentioned Murshid Qūlī Khān *Faujdār* and Mīr Ḥabīb.[1] A few pages later it is stated that Murshid Qūlī Khān, Shamsher Khān and Mir Ḥabīb stood aloof at a distance during the battle and marched away in silence after the death of Sarāfrāz.[2] Ghulām Ḥusain dilates on the brazen effrontery of the patron of his family in addressing Nafisa Begum, the daughter of Ja'afar Khān Nāṣirī, the widow of Shuja'-uddin and the mother of Sarāfrāz, immediately after the treacherous action which raised him to the *masnad* of Murshidabad.[3] During the distribution of rewards Saiyad Aḥmad Khān, one of the sons of the Ḥājī Aḥmad, was appointed *Nāib Nāẓim* of Orissa as soon as it might be recovered from Murshid Qūlī II.[4] 'Alīwardi Khān now became the *Ṣūbahdār* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and started to wrest Orissa from Murshid Qūlī II. He appointed Mir Ja'afar 'Alī Khān Bahādur, the greatest Musalman

1 *Riyāz., Eng. trans., p. 311.*

2 *Ibid., p. 317.*

3 *Sā'ir, Eng. trans., Vol. I, p. 340.*

4 *Ibid., p. 345.*

traitor of India in the 18th century, to command the expedition.[1] During the insurrection of 'Alīwardī Khān the hapless Sārāfrāz had asked for help from his brother-in-law Murshid Qūlī II of Orissa, but the latter delayed to march until he heard of the fall of Sarāfrāz.[2] Ghulām Ḥusain says that Murshid Qūli II sent one Aghā Muḥammad Taqī of Surat as ambassador to 'Alīwardi.[3] But the *Riyāz* mentions one Mukhliṣ 'Ali Khān, a son-in-law of Ḥāji Aḥmad, as the ambassador. The same authority continues to state that the two traitors sent back Mukhliṣ 'Alī as their own agent to corrupt the officers of the army of Murshid Qūlī II and in this mission Mukhliṣ 'Alī succeeded wonderfully and sent messages to Murshidabad. Ghulām Husain states that the negotiations fell through on account of the impetuosity of Mīrzā Bāqir Khān Ṣafāwīm, the son-in-law of Murshid Qūlī II, and the advice of Shuja'-uddin's daughter.[4] 'Aliwardi Khān marched with two thousand picked troops for Orissa. Ghulām Ḥusain states that the news caused consternation in the Court of Katak.[5] Murshid Qūlī II marched out of Katak, leaving his wife and son in the fort of Barabati at that place, with his two sons-in-law Mīrzā Bāqir Khān and 'Alāuddīn Muḥammad Khān, to the port of Balasore. At the ferry of Phulwar, from the rock of Tilgaḍhi to the river Jon he threw up an entrenchment. These places cannot be identified now. The translator of the *Riyāz*, Maulawī Abdus-Salām, could not find any

1 *Riyāz., Eng. trans., p. 323.*

2 *Ibid., p. 325.*

3 *Sā'ir., Eng. trans., vol. I, p. 348.*

4 *Sā'ir., Eng. trans., vol. I, p. 348.*

5 *Ibid., p. 349.*

river called the Jon near Balasore. He thinks that it is a mistake for Nuniajuri, a tributary of the Burabalang on which Balasore stands.[1] Both chronicles are agreed on the cause of Murshid Qūlī II's defeat at the battle of Balasore. The wily 'Alīwardi had a traitor in the Orissa camp in the person of Mukhliṣ 'Alī Khān, who gave secret intelligence of the Orissan camp to the Bengal army.[2] Ghulām Ḥusain Salīm puts the strength of 'Alīwardi's army at one lakh cavalry and infantry in the place of the modest twelve thousand of Ghulām Ḥusain. He has also recorded one refreshing incident amidst the sickening mass of chronicles of Musalman treachery, which is the bravery and loyalty of a Bhañja chief named Jagadīśvara.

When 'Alīwardī Khān reached Medinipur he tried to secure the allegiance of the zemindars by bestowing rewards and *Khila'ats*, but he failed to seduce Rājah Jagadīśvara[3] Bhañja of Mayurbhanj from his allegiance. Jagadīśvara guarded the ford of the Suvarṇarekhā with his *Khaṇḍāit* infantry and irregular force of *Chuāṛs* and had thrown up entrenchments. 'Alīwardī failed to cross the river at Rajghat without the help of Jagadīśvara Bhañja[4] and started bombarding the entrenchments, on which the *pāiks* fled and

1 *Riyāz., Eng. trans., p. 326 and Note 4.*

2 *Ibid., p. 326.*

3 In the English translation the name is once spelt Jagardhar and again Jagat Isvar.

4 The name of this chief is omitted in the genealogies accepted by the Mayurbhanja State. In the Persian original it is once written Jagardhar and again Jagadiśvara. The King may be the same as Chakradhar Bhañja who was the successor of Raghunath Bhañja and the predecessor of Dāmodar Bhañja. See P. Acharya's *Vanshanucharito, Baripada, 1927, Apps. VI, B, No. 34 and App. VI, C, No. 36,* since Chakradhar written in Persian can easily be misread Jagardhar.

the former crossed to Ramchandrapur. Here parleys ensued which lasted for over one month during which the wily 'Alīwardī attempted to bring out Murshid Qūlī II from his entrenchment at the ferry of Phulwar.[1] At this stage Ghulām Ḥusain Salim mentions another interesting incident—the raids of Maratha freebooters. Previous to 1740 Marathas had not been heard of, either in Bengal or in Orissa. It is stated that in view of the dearth of provisions, the commissariat arrangements for such a huge army, the approach of the rainy season and the raids of the Marathas, 'Alīwardī thought seriously of making some sort of arrangements with Murishid Qūlī II and returning to Murshidabad.

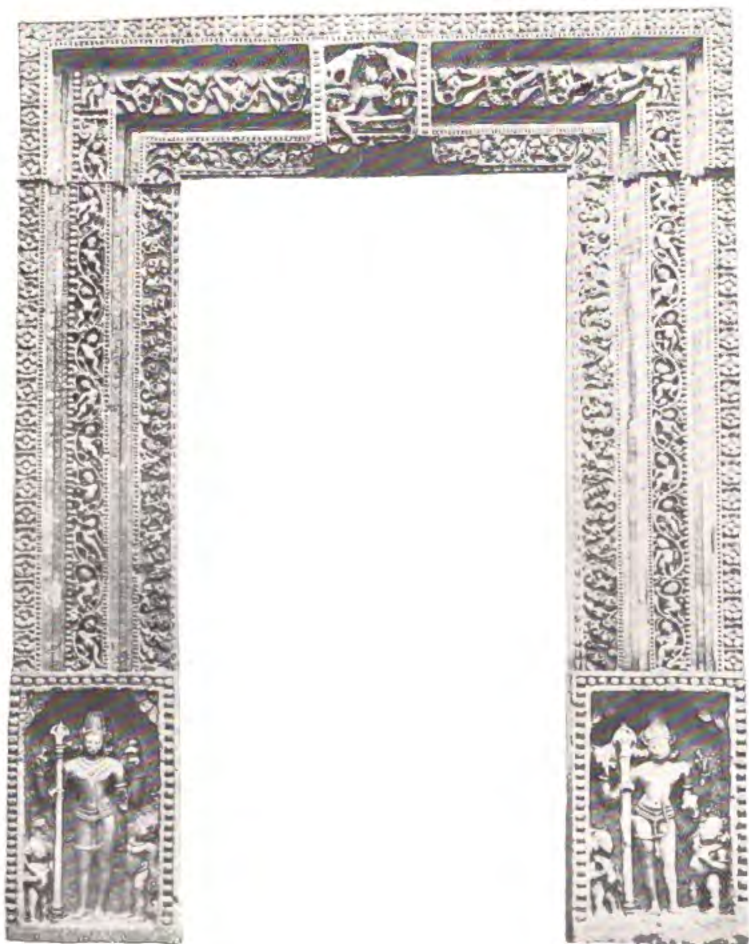
Muṣṭafā Khān, an Afghan general of 'Alīwardī, would not listen to any peace talk and therefore 'Alīwardī once more resorted to treachery. A messenger was sent to Murshid Qūlī II to attempt to bring him to an engagement. Though officers like 'Ābid Khān who were in the pay of 'Alīwardī, instigated by the spy Mukhliṣ 'Alī Khān, tried their best to force Mīrzā Bāqir out of the entrenchments, Murshid Qūlī II prevailed upon all to remain quiet. At last impatient of inaction, the impulsive Mīrzā Bāqir rushed out with his Saiyads of Barha and Murshid Qūlī II was obliged to come out in order to support his son-in-law. At this crisis Mukhliṣ 'Alī Khān, 'Ābid Khān, Muqarrab Khān and other Afghan generals deserted to 'Alīwardī and the result was a rout. Murshid Qūlī II retired to Balasore and sailed in a ship to Masulipatan. 'Alīwardī deputed Mīrzā Khair-ullah Beg and others to capture Durdanah Begum and Yāhyā Khān but Murshid Qūlī II was much better served by the Hindu chiefs of Orissa even in his adversity.

1 *Riyāz., Eng. trans., p. 327.*

Rāmachandradeva II of Khurdah, who had turned a Musalman on account of the persecutions of Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī and assumed the name of Ḥāfiẓ Qādar, sent his General Murād Khān to guard Yāhyā Khān and the *Begum* in the fort of Barabati at Katak. Murād Khān planned to send them with all moveable property to the Deccan by way of Chikakol. Murshid Qūlī's treasure was attacked by the Mīrzā (Khairullah Beg) and captured, but his family escaped. The *Riyāz* calls Rāmachandradeva II simply "Rājah of Parsotam" (Purushottama) and the translator in his note states that the name of the Rajah was Ḥāfiẓ Qādar. [1] Ghulām Ḥusain states that the Rājah of Ratipur, who was also the Lord of Jagannātha, helped Murshid Qūli II during his adversity and that his agent Shāh Murād conducted his family as far as Ichchhāpuram in the Ganjam District. The *Faujdār* of that province, Anwaruddīn Khān, probably the same Anwaruddīn Gopāmaui, who was appointed by Niẓām-ul-mulk Āsaf Jāh I to be the governor of Arkat, was an acquaintance of Murshid Qulī II and took charge of his family. Mīrzā Bāqir arrived a few days later. [2] 'Alīwardī Khān proceeded to chastise the adherents of Murshid Qūli II by confiscating their property and conciliated the zamindars and officers of Orissa. He appointed his nephew and son-in-law Saiyad Aḥmad Khān, formerly *Faujdār* of Rangpur, and procured for him the title of Nāsir-ul-mulk Saiyad Aḥmad Khān Bahādur Ṣaulat Jang. Very probably 'Alīwardī was fully aware of the debauched and cowardly nature of his nephew and therefore left him in charge of a trusted officer named Gujar

1 *Ibid., p. 331, Note 2.*

2 *Sā'ir., Eng. trans., Vol. I, pp. 354-55.*



Chandraśekhara Temple, Door Jamb

Khān. The arrangement resulted in immediate disaster. Like all members of the family of the two traitors, Ḥāji Aḥmad and 'Alīwardī, Ṣaulat Jang was morally depraved, and tried, in the first place, to reduce military expenditure and, in the second place, he took into his service a number of commanders who were faithful adherents of Murshid Qūlī II. [1] In the third place, he reduced the pay of the troops and, therefore, most of the officers and soldiers, who had been left in Orissa by 'Alīwardī, quitted his service. Their places were taken by local people. In the fourth place, a Faqīr called Shāh Yāhyā, a bosom friend of Ṣaulat Jang in Delhi, arrived at Katak and was employed by the depraved wretch to abduct respectable women from their homes. This Shāh Yāhyā practically became the ruler of Orissa and Ṣaulat Jang very soon became the most despised person in the whole province. Conspiracies were formed in Katak and the only faithful troops remaining under Ṣaulat Jang were three hundred men under Gujar Khān Rohilla. In the meanwhile, Mīrzā Bāqir, from a distance, seduced the troops and the local officers of Ṣaulat Jang. One day the people rose against Ṣaulat Jang under Shāh Murād or Murād Khān, the trusted agent of Rāmachandra-deva II. Gujar Khān was murdered in the streets and Mīrzā Bāqir reappeared in Katak. He captured Ṣaulat Jang and seated himself upon the *Masnad*. 'Alīwardī suspected Nizām-ul-mulk Āṣaf I of having helped Mīrzā Bāqir in his *coup* and made great preparations for the reconquest of Orissa. [2] Maulawī Abdus-Samad places greater reliance on the *Sā'ir-ul-Muta'kharin*, because it is

1 *Riyāz., Eng. trans., pp. 332-33.*

2 *Sa'ir., Eng. trans., pp. 355-56, 64.*

fuller though somewhat different from the account given in the *Riyāz-us-Salātīn*. But the *Riyāz* is certainly much more reliable on account of the evident bias of Ghulām Husain for the family of 'Alīwardī. After the capture of Ṣaulat Jang, Mirzā Bāqir sent him with his family to the fort of Barabati. His troops spread as far north as Hijli and Medinipur. On hearing of the approach of 'Alīwardī, Mirzā Bāqir 'Alī crossed the Mahānadī and entrenched himself. The *Riyāz* states that on hearing of the approach of the Bengal army Mirzā Bāqir's troops concentrated at Midnapur and Jaleswar and then encamped near the port of Balasore, but they soon lost heart and sent their families to Chikakol. Mirzā Bāqir was compelled to advance and he sent some troops to Jobra Ghat near Katak. 'Alīwardī was near Jajpur when he heard that Mirzā Bāqir had crossed the Kāṭjuṛī. The armies met at a place called Malisar (? Mukamasar, a place across the Kāṭjurī, about two miles from Katak on the Puri road). In the battle which ensued Mirzā Bāqir was defeated and was sent to the Deccan by Murād Khān, the General of Rāmachandradeva II. 'Alīwardī now appointed Shaikh Ma'asum to be the Nāib Nāẓim of Orissa and carried the precious Saiyad Aḥmad Khān Ṣaulat Jang back to his mother.

'Alīwardī's wrath now fell upon Jagadīśvara or Chakradhar Bhanja of Mayurbhanj who had supported Mirzā Bāqir instead of submitting to him. Secure in the fastnesses of the jungles Jagadīśvara defied 'Alīwardī, who now devastated his territories and compelled the Rājā to fly to Khiching.[1] According to Ghulām Ḥusain 'Alīwardī at first appointed Mukhlis 'Alī Khān to be the deputy of the

1 *Riyāz., Eng. trans., pp. 334-37.*

depraved wretch Saiyad Aḥmad, but a few days later he changed his mind and appointed Shaikh Muḥammad Ma'asum Pānipati in his place.[1]

Mir Ḥabibullah Khān, the faithful adherent of the family of Ja'afar Khān and Shuja'-uddin, now appeared on the scene as the avenging angel. He had gone to Raghuji Bhonsle I at Nagpur and persuaded the latter to undertake the conquest of Bengal and Orissa and the chastisement of the arch-traitors Ḥāji Aḥmad and 'Aliwardi. Mir Ḥabib marched with the Maratha general Bhāskar Rām, commonly called Bhāskar Pandit, by Musalman and European writers, and on hearing of his approach 'Aliwardi left the devastation of Mayurbhanj territories to defend his own. The Marathas swept upon 'Aliwardi's army from the direction of Burdwan and he fled towards Ujani near Maṅgalkoṭ in the same district. His baggage was looted and all transport animals and food supplies captured by the Marathas. Even 'Aliwardi's *begum* was captured on her elephant and was saved with great difficulty.[2] The retribution had begun and for twelve years 'Aliwardi and his family paid very dearly for their great treachery to their patron and master Shuja'-uddin, who had retrieved them from the gutter and made noblemen of them. The Maratha war for the conquest of Orissa began in 1741 and lasted till 1751, the narrative of which will be found in the next chapter.

Like Ja'afar Khān Nāsiri, Shuja'-ud-din Muḥammad Khān was the author of several *Ābwābs* or imposts in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Accounts of these

1 *Sa'ir., Eng. trans., Vol. I, p. 370.*

2 *Riyāz., Eng. trans., pp. 337-39.*

Ābwābs as levied in the Bengali year 1135 or 1728 A.D., are available. They are :

(1) *Naẓarāna Mukarrarī* or "a fixed pecuniary acknowledgment paid by the Zamindars as farmers-generals of the king's revenue virtually, for improper remissions, indulgences, favor and protection ; forbearance of husta-bood investigations or privilege of being freed from the immediate superintendence of the aumils ; but ostensibly and formally to defray the charge of nuzzers sent to Court at the *eyeedein* or two principal yearly Mussulman festivals and other great ceremonial days, in like manner as the jagheerdars or holders of assigned territory were, as Mahomedans, with more propriety obliged to contribute their share of the whole demand."

(2) Zer Mat-Hoot (Zar Māthaut) a certain proportionable increase of a capital sum, applied technically in the present instance, to a percentage of about one and a half rupee on each hundred of the ausil jumma of the khalsa mahals, and made up of the four following component abwabs ; *viz.*—(1st.) Nuzzer pooneah (*Naẓar-Puṇy-āha* ; presents exacted from the zemindars by the officers of the exchequer at the annual settlement, a second time resumed by government,—(2nd.) Bhay-khelat (Ba-hāy-Khila'at) price of the robes bestowed at the same time, on the most considerable landholders, as tokens of yearly investiture in their offices of farmers-generals of the king's rents.—(3rd) Pooshta-bundy (Pushta-bandī) upholding the river banks in the vicinity of Lal Baug and the Kellah of Moorshedabad,—(4th.) Russoom-nezarut (*Rusūm-nazarat*) commission of ten annas per mille exacted by the nazur jummadur, or head peon, on the treasure brought from

the Mofussil. All of which thenceforward carried to the public credit constituted a permanent additional revenue extending over the whole country.

(3) Mat-Hoot Fee (*Māthaut-Fīl-Khānah*)—a partial contribution in other respects similar to the last mentioned, to defray the expense of feeding the elephants of both the nazims and dewan, kept at Moorshedabad.

(4) Abwab Faujdari—*i.e.*, limited permanent assessments on the land levied by *Faujdārs* within their respective jurisdictions. The burden of them fell for the most part on the frontier districts of the subahs.[1]

Under Shuja'-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān, his son Muḥammad Taqī Khān collected Rs. 11,31,40,338-14-8 in all from the *ṣūbah* of Orissa out of which Rs. 11,11,85,145-8-9 was remitted in specie and bills of exchange to the capital or Delhi. Rs. 4,90,193-6-was spent on the charges for the transportation of this huge amount of specie and Rs. 14,65,000 was paid to merchants and bankers in repayment of the amount borrowed from them during the government of Nawāb Ja'afar Khān Nāṣirī. During the previous government the total amount of remittance from Orissa to Delhi was only Rs. 38,37,151-9-2.[2] Figures are available only of the *Chaklah* of Medinipur or that part of *ṣūbah* of Orissa which was transferred to Bengal before 1722. These amounts refer to the period when that district had been ceded by Nawāb Mīr Qāsim 'Alī Khān of revered memory to the British East India Company. In B. S. 1112 or 1706-7 A. D., Bengal was enlarged by the transfer

[1] *The Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Comoany, Vol. I.*

[2] *Ibid., p. 282.*

of forty entire *parganas*, the revenue from which was valued at Rs. 4,15,724, but later on twelve of these forty mahals were re-transferred to Orissa as being entirely dependent on the port of Balasore, the revenue from which was estimated at Rs. 74,340. After deducting the revenue of these twelve mahals Bengal still sent Rs. 3,41,384 with its own revenue, which was really revenue from the *ṣūbah* of Orissa. In reality the effective revenue of the *ṣūbah* of Orissa was only Rs. 36,07,245.[1] The details available in Grant's famous analysis of the revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa refer only to the *Chakla* of Midnapur for B. S. 1181 or 1184 *i.e.*, 1774 and 1778 A. D. This statement contains figures for two *parganas* of the *Sarkār* of Goalpara, 24 mahals of the zamindari of Sundar Narayan, 20 mahals in 2nd *Sarkār* of Jaleswar, 7 mahals in the 3rd *Sarkār* of Maljethia and 6 mahals in the 4th *Sarkār* of Mazkuri. The *Sarkār* of Goalpara was settled for Rs. 3,75,135, out of which a 7/8th share of the *pargana* of Kāśijorā was settled for Rs. 2,65,597 and the *pargana* of Shāhpur was settled for Rs. 1,09,538. This *Sarkār* contained the zamindari of Sundar Narayan, which was settled for Rs. 14,04,477. It contained a 1/8th share of the *parganah* of Kāśijūṛā and Medinipur, Mainajura, Currickpore (Kharagpur), etc., in the Medinipur district and Chhatnā in the Bankura district. The total revenue of three other *Sarkārs* were much less than the sum total of the revenue of *Sarkār* Goālpāṛā. *Sarkār* Jaleswar fetched Rs. 2,71,957, *Sarkār* Maljethia Rs. 1,69,785 and *Sarkār* Mazkuri Rs. 62,177. The total of the four Orissa *Sarkārs* pertaining to Bengal in 1811 was Rs. 19,08,965.[2] The total

[1] *Ibid., p. 528.* [2] *Ibid., pp. 532-3.*

wasil jama' of the *Chaklah* in the time of Nawāb Ja'afar Khān Nāṣiri in 1707 was Rs. 11,43,878 from which after deducting Rs. 1,10,221 left to ancient land-holders the net standard revenue was Rs. 10,33,657.[1]

With the defeat of Mirzā Bāqir 'Ali Khān and the arrival of Mir Ḥabibullah with a contingent of Maratha troops we enter upon a period of anarchy which did not end till about 1773. Rāmachandradeva II began to rule in 1727 and died in 1743 according to Stirling.[2] Hunter places his accession in 1725 and assigns eleven years to him bringing his reign to a close in 1736. None of them mention his conversion to the Musalman religion. Even Stirling's more careful account published in 1837 omits the fact of his conversion.[3] It was noticed for the first time by the late Mr. Monmohan Chakravarti who had it recorded for the first time[4] and included in the Gazetteer,[5] which states that Rāmachandra II married a daughter of the Nawāb of Orissa, *i. e.*, Murshid Qūli II. Rāmachandra II died a few days after the battle of the Mahānadi (1742) and one of the records states that he was killed in the battle with the Musalmans.[6] At this time Mir Ḥabibullah had become the dictator of affairs in Orissa and he placed Padmanābhadeva of Paṭiyā on the *gadi* of Khurda, but eventually Virakiśoradeva, a grandson of Rāmachandra II, was placed on the *gadi*. The period of the rule of Virakiśoradeva (1743-80)

[1] *Ibid., p. 530.*

[2] *Asiatick Researches, Vol., XV, p. 294.*

[3] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. VI, part II, 1837, p. 765.*

[4] *Ibid., old series, 1898, part I, Vol. LXVIII.*

[5] *Bengal District Gazetteer—Puri, p. 48.*

[6] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VI, part II, p. 765.*

belongs to the Maratha and his troubles will be recorded in the next two chapters.

Shuja'-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān built the only Musalman monument of any pretension and size in Orissa, the Qadam Rasūl Masjid in Katak in 1712. His illegitimate son Muḥammad Taqī Khān lies buried here. This building is much better designed than Shuja's Masjid at Roshnībāgh, opposite the city of Murshidabad on the western bank of the Bhagirathi. The Mughal mint at Katak continued to be the only mint in the province till the end of the rule of the Nawabs-Nāẓim of Bengal over Orissa. Coins were issued all along in the name of the titular emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1719-48).

Divyasiṁha I was succeeded in 1720 by his brother Harekṛishṇadeva, whose reign is given at different lengths. Manmohan Chakravarti's calculation points to the 18th March 1725 as the date of his decease. The father of Gadādhara Rājaguru, the author of *Āchārasāra*, was the religious preceptor of this king. He was succeeded by his son Gopīnāthadeva.[1] According to Stirling, Harekṛishṇadeva reigned for forty years. But this figure seems to be a mistake for four years and five months. According to the same account Harekṛishṇadeva whitewashed the temple of Jagannātha at Puri by preparing lime from the ashes of cowrie shells.[2] Gopīnāthadeva ruled for seven years. During his reign an owl sat on the image of Jagannātha and defiled it. This necessitated a special purification of the entire temple with three baths of the image. This event took place on the 25th January 1731. Gopīnātha was succeeded

[1] *Ibid., Vol. LXVII, 1898, p. 382.*

[2] *Ibid., Vol. VI, 1837, part II, p. 765.*



Standing Surya No. I—Sūrya Deul
Konārak—Pūri District

in the same year by his son Rāmachandradeva II.[1] In the time of Rāmachandra II, Muḥammad Taqī Khān, the illegitimate son of Shuja'ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān, the Nā'ib Nāẓim of Orissa, began to interfere with the worship in the temple of Jagannātha and therefore the image was removed to an inaccessible island in the Chilka lake.[2] The revenue from the pilgrim tax having declined the images were permitted to be brought back and re-installed in the great temple at the intercession of Mir Ḥabīb as narrated above. Later on Muḥammad Taqī Khān invaded Khurdah and captured Rāmachandra II. The Rājā was carried to Katak where he had to accept Islām. He was renamed Hāfiz Qādir. The important part played by Rāmachandradeva II in the defence of the family and honour of Murshid Qūlī II has already been narrated.

1 *Ibid., Vol. LXVII, 1898, part I, p. 383*

2 See *ante.*

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE MUGHAL—MARATHA STRUGGLE IN ORISSA.

The nemesis which overtook the ingrate 'Alīwardī Khān and his supporters took the form of the Maratha invasions of Bengal and the rebellions of the Afghan traitors in his armies. It is extremely difficult to separate the account of the Maratha-Mughal struggle in Orissa from the general account of the Maratha wars in Bengal and Bihar. The account compiled in the following pages is, therefore, a complete one of the Maratha wars beginning with the first appearance of Bhāskar Rām and ending with the treaty, by which the province of Orissa was finally ceded to the Bhonsles of Nagpur in 1751. It is based on the ample narrative of the *Sa'ir-ul-muta'kharīn*, checked with the more sober account of the *Riyāz-us-salāṭīn* and the Maratha version of the story as given by Prof. Ganesh Sakharam Sardesai in his *Mārāthī Riyāsat*. The story of the *Sa'ir* is slightly different at places from that of the *Riyāz*. Thus, at the beginning, there is wide difference on the point of the part played by Mīr Ḥabībullah in bringing the Marathas to Bengal and Orissa. The *Riyāz* clearly states that Mir Ḥabīb had gone to invite the Marathas after the defeat of Murshid Qulī II at the battle of Balasore.[1] But the *Sa'ir* states that he was captured when 'Alīwardī was flying from Mayurbhanj to Katwa.[2] Bhāskar Rām and Kaṇber Rām, two brothers were serving under

1 *Riyāz., pp. 337-38.*

Sa'ir Eng. trans., Vol. I, p. 387.

Raghujī Bhonsle I and Bhāskar was the general. They were the sons of one Nārāyaṇ Rāmāji. When Mīr Ḥabīb went to invite the Marathas of Nagpur, Raghujī I was absent on a campaign in the Karnatak when Mīr Ḥabīb went to Berar and sought Bhāskar Rām. The latter sallied out for Bengal upon the return of Raghujī Bhonsle I *via* Satara.[1]

Bhāskar Pandit, the general of the Maratha army, entered Chhota Nagpur through Chhattisgadh and fell upon the Medinipur district through Mayurbhanj and Pachet.[2] 'Alīwardi was totally unprepared for this onslaught and had disbanded a portion of his army after the defeat of Mīrza Bāqir 'Ali at the battle of the Mahānadī. He was obliged to fly towards Bengal leaving the chastisement of Jagadīśvara Bhañja incomplete. The *Sa'ir* indeed states that Jagadīśvara surrendered unconditionally and had thrown himself on the mercy of Muṣṭafa Khān, the Afghan general. He was lured into the audience hall and the arch-traitor of Bengal, Mīr Ja'afar 'Alī Khān, was instructed to assassinate him. As soon as Jagadīśvara Bhañja made his appearance he was hacked to pieces with his entire retinue.[3] Nawāb 'Alīwardi Khān Mahābat Jang was a great adept in this style of warfare.

'Alīwardi's condition was serious, as the Afghan rabble in his army was openly mutinous and had to be pacified with large promises.[4] He had only four thousand foot and three thousand horse with him while the Maratha horse numbered ten thousand strong. 'Alīwardi fled

1 *Marāthī Riyāsat, Madhya Bibhag, part II, pp. 483-85.*

2 *Ibid., p. 376.*

3 *Ibid., p. 381.*

4 *Ibid., p. 381,*

stripped of his baggage and guns and reached Katwa in western Bengal with a famishing army and with very few transport animals. He tried his usual game of treachery and to purchase himself out of the clutches of the Marathas. He sent a Deccani Musalman in the pay of the zamindar of Burdwan, named Mīr Khairullah Khān, to Bhāskar Pandit, but the latter wanted one kror of rupees in cash and all the elephants, which was beyond the purse of 'Alīwardī. At first Bhāskar Pandit wanted ten lakhs of Rupees as *chauth* but his demand rose as soon as 'Alīwardī's real condition became apparent to him. By cajolery and bribe 'Alīwardī regained control over the Afghans and had to fight every inch of his way to Katwa. Ḥājī Aḥmad and his son, Nawāzish Muḥammad Khān', sent provisions and re-inforcements from Murshidabad and saved 'Alīwardī. Saiyad Aḥmad Khān Ṣaulat Jang brought a train of artillery with him. Bhāskar Pandit now realised that as the rains were near at hand it would be difficult to carry on guerilla warfare any longer, and he wanted to retire with his plunder ; but Mīr Ḥabīb dissuaded him from doing so, pointing out the prospect of immense plunder in the defenceless city of Murshidabad, now in the charge of the coward Nawāzish Muḥammad and the depraved wretch Ḥājī Aḥmad. Mīr Ḥabīb attacked Murshidabad with about one thousand Maratha horse (700 only according to Maratha records,) plundered the house of the traitor Jagat-seth Fatḥchand, from which he is said to have carried away two crore of rupees, and destroyed the suburb of Ḍāhāpara.[1] The *Riyāz* mentions another suburb

1 On the western bank of the Bhagirathi where Hindu officers from Dacca had taken up their residence after the transfer of the *Dīwanī*

named Ganj Muḥammad Khān which can no longer be identified. Mīr Ḥabīb reached his own family residence and relieved his brother and his family. He captured Murād 'Alī Khān, the son-in-law of Nawāb Sarāfrāz Khān, Durlabhrām Rāi, the son of the *peshkār* Jānakīrām Rāi, and neither Hājī Aḥmad nor his son Nawāzish Muḥammad dared to stir out of the pitiful stockade which they called the *Qila* of Murshidabad. The *Riyāz* puts the strength of Mīr Ḥabīb's band at 700 and states that after plundering the suburbs of Murshidabad this army lay encamped at Kirīṭeśvarī or Kirītkoṇā, six miles to the west of the Bhagirathi.[1] The *Sa'ir* says that, intimidated by the violence of the monsoon in Bengal, Bhāskar Rāo was retreating towards Nagpur when Mīr Ḥabīb caught him near Birbhum and gave him the proceeds of the plunder of Murshidabad. Bhāskar Rāo now returned to Katwa, whence Mīr Ḥabīb arranged for provisions from the zamindars and captured the fort of Hughly by a stratagem. Hughly was placed in charge of Śesha Rāo, while Bhāskar Pandit stayed at Katwa. Murshid Qulī remained at Amaniganj (Armenianganj) to the south of Murshidabad city. The Marathas spread over the whole of western Bengal and entered Orissa. They exacted money from Balasore and captured that port. The rest of Orissa submitted quietly, but Mīr Qalandar held out at Medinipur while Mīr Ma'asum Khān Panipati remained in the fort of Barabati at Cuttack. The Marathas roamed over the whole of western Bengal from Rajmahal in the

kāchārī to Murshidabad in 1706. Dacca is pronounced Ḍahā in Eastern Bengal.

1 *Riyāz., Eng. trans., pp. 341-42.*

west, Rajshahi in the north, and Calcutta in the south, while 'Aliwardi remained confined to the Bhagirathi-Ganges delta.[1] Muhammadans in Bengal were clearly demoralised. Entertaining little hope of victory they sent their family and valuables to Jahangirnagar-Dacca, Maldah or Rāmpur Boālia. Nawāzish Muḥammad crossed with his entire family to Godagari in the Rajshahi district where 'Alīwardī also transferred his treasure and valuables.[2] *Marāṭhyāñche Darārā* a work quoted by Mr. G. S. Sardesai extensively in his account of the Bhonsle campaigns of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, states the very name Maratha caused such terror in people of all classes that they fled to the hills and jungles on hearing it. The greater part of Orissa, Medinipur, Burdwan, Rajshahi and Rajmahal fell into the hands of the Marathas. Only the country around Murshidabad and to the east of the Bhāgirathi remained in the hands of the Nawāb.[3] At this stage 'Alīwardī was compelled to apply for succour to the shadow emperor Muḥammad Shah at Delhi. Left without any power and unable to undertake any fatigue the emperor wrote in humble terms to Peshwa Bālāji Baji Rāo *alias* Nānā Ṣaḥib and Abū'l Manṣūr Khān, Ṣafdar Jang, the nephew and successor of the traitor Sa'adat Khān Burhān-ul-mulk in the *ṣūbah* of Oudh, asking them to help 'Alīwardī in his distress. It is a pity that he did not or could not write to Niẓām-ul-mulk Aṣaf Jāh I of Aurangabad to co-operate with Peshwa Nānā Ṣāḥib, because a counter-demonstration from Aurangabad into Berar would have checked much more effectively all

1 *Sa'ir, pp. 394-95.*

2 *Ibid., p. 396.*

3 *Marāthī Riyāsat, Madhya Bibhag, Vol. II, p. 487.*

Maratha incursions from the direction of Nagpur into Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. But it was perhaps not possible for the emperor to persuade the first Niẓām-ul-mulk to do anything for him in 1741-42. Both 'Abū'l Manṣūr Khān and Bālāji Bāji Rāo came, both of them too late for the purpose for which their services were requisitioned. The Peshwā Bālāji Bāji Rāo had a special grudge against Raghuji Bhonsle I, a fact not very well known even now. After the death of Peshwā Bāji Rāo I, the non-Brāhmaṇ party at the court of Satara tried to oust Nānā Ṣāḥib from succession to his father's post. All non-Brāhmaṇs, headed by Raghuji Bhonsle I, combined against the *Konkanasth* or *Chitpavan* Brāhmaṇas and tried to place Bābū Rāo Bārāmatikar on the *gadi* of the Peshwā. This special grudge now induced Bālāji Bāji Rāo *alias* Nānā Ṣāḥib to undertake an arduous campaign against Raghuji I. Raghuji's pretensions were great. He claimed to be a relation of the Chhatrapatis, both being Bhonsles, though the line of Śivāji was not related to the Bhonsles of Berar. At one time Raghuji dreamed of placing his son on the Maratha throne at Satara by giving him in adoption to the imbecile Shāhu or Śivāji III. Nānā Ṣāḥib recognised that it was necessary either to crush or to deal a severe blow to the power of Raghuji I.[1] While these negotiations were going on, the Marathas under Mīr Ḥabib conquered the districts of Medinipur and Jaleśvar.[2]

Towards the close of the rainy season 'Alīwardī marched with a new army and defeated the Marathas near Katwa.

[1] *Marāthī Riyāsat, Madhya Bibhag, Vol. II, pp. 36-43.*

[2] *Riyāz., Eng. trans., p. 344.*

Bhāskar Rām was celebrating the Durgā Pūjā at Katwa with great pomp in September, 1742, when he was surprised by 'Alīwardī. Bhāskar Rāo retired towards Pachet, leaving the management of the army to Mīr Ḥabīb, who piloted the army through Bishnupur and Chandrakona.[1] He now sent an army against Mīr Ma'asum Khān Panipati who had advanced from Katak to Hariharpur. There the Musalman army was annihilated[2] and Katak, the fort of Barabati and the whole of Orissa fell into the hands of the Marathas. The Marathas, however, were pursued by 'Alīwardī as far as the northern banks of the Chilka lake.[3] According to the *Sa'ir*, 'Abdul Nabī Khān, a uncle of Muṣṭafā Khān, was appointed Na'ib Nāẓim of Orissa and his rank was raised to three thousand horse ; but the *Riyāz* states that the new governor of Orissa was named 'Abdur-Rasūl Khān, a relation of Muṣṭafā Khān.[4] The *Sa'ir* naively adds that, as the new governor was a rude soldier, the Bengali Durlabhrām Rāi, son of the *peshkār* Jānakirām, was left to help him in the administration. On hearing of the defeat of Bhāskar Pandit at Katwa, Śesha Rāo evacuated Hughly and other Maratha leaders quitted western Bengal.[5] 'Abū'l Manṣūr Khān of Oudh came as far as Patna and had to be persuaded to retire, as his help was no longer required. The Peshwā Bālāji Bājī Rāo also advanced into Bengal with sixty thousand cavalry through Allahabad and Gaya, plundering and ravaging the entire country.[6] 'Alīwardī

1 *Sa'ir., Eng. trans., Vol. I, pp. 401-4.*

2 *Riyāz., Eng. trans., p. 346.*

3 *Sa'ir., Eng. trans., Vol. I, p. 406.*

4 *Riyāz., Eng. trans., pp. 346-7*

5 *Ibid., p. 347.*

6 *Ibid., p. 351.*



The Colossal Horsemen—Surya Deul—Konārak, Puri District

treated Bālāji Bājī Rāo with consideration and paid him a very large amount of money in lieu of *Chauth*. The latter, satisfied as to his demands, overtook Raghujī's army and defeated it. The actual place of the engagement remains unknown even to Maratha writers, but the latter's defeat at the hands of Bālāji Bājī Rao is acknowledged by all authorities. Raghujī fled and Bhāskar Rāo also retired.[1] Bālājī Bāji Rāo now retired to his own country.

The very next year (1744) the Marathas reappeared under Jānuji, son of Raghujī Bhonsle I, and his adopted son, Mohan Singh. The untiring Mīr Ḥabīb repeated his demands for *chauth*. Bhāskar Rāo appeared on the borders of Orissa with 'Alī Qarāwal, a Deccanī Musalman general. Tired of war, 'Alīwardī resorted to treachery. According to the advice of his *Peshkār* or *Dīwān*, Jānakīrām Rāi, the old traitor lured the Maratha generals into his camp at Mancarah, between Katwa and Murshidabad, and murdered all of them at an entertainment.[2] The Afghan general Muṣṭafā Khān had taken a leading part in this massacre and his importance increased accordingly. One Raghujī Gāikwāḍ had been left in the camp and he fled with his troops taking as much of the baggage as he could (Oct.-Nov. 1744).[3] For a time the country was cleared of Maratha troops but the Afghans now raised their heads in rebellion. The first of them was Muṣṭafā Khān who went to Patna. He was shortly followed by his nephew Abdur-Rasūl Khān of Orissa. The great traitor Dūrlabhrām, to whose treachery Clive owed his cheaply earned victory

1 *Sā'ir., Eng. trans., Vol. I, pp. 420-21 ; Marathi Riyasad, Vol. II.*
2 *Ibid., pp. 430-37.*
3 *Ibid., p. 436.*

13

at Plassey, had to be placed in charge of the province of Orissa.[1] The Afghan rebellion has no direct connection with Orissa and the long and tedious account of the *Sa'ir* need not be followed.

'Alīwardī Khan sent an ambassador named Mun'im Khān to Raghujī Bhonsle, as the latter had already appeared in western Burdwan. Mun'im Khān met Raghujī and proposed a treaty, but Raghujī wanted three krors of rupees, which was just then beyond the power of 'Alīwardī Khān to raise. As soon as the news of Muṣṭafā Khan's defeat and death was received the peace proposals were dropped. Raghujī had come to avenge the murder of Bhāskar Rām and his little band of heroes, but his first attempt had been defeated by the advent of Peshwā Bālājī Bājī Rao and his subsequent defeat at his hands.[2] The defeat of Muṣṭafā Khān was followed by the third Maratha invasion of Bengal and Orissa under Jānujī, a son of Raghujī Bhonsle I, and his adopted son Mohan Singh in 1748. The defection of Abdur-Rasūl Khān had compelled 'Alīwardī to leave the government of Orissa in the hands of the traitor Durlabhrām Rāi, the son of his minister Jānakirām Rāi. According to Ghulām Ḥusain Durlabhrām was duped by a number of Hindu *sanaysis* whom the Musalman writer describes as the spies of Raghujī. When 14,000 Maratha troops advanced towards Orissa, Durlabhrām was busy on the banks of the Mahānadī in the performance of some religious rites and the Marathas were actually upon him before he realised his position. A Musalman commander named Mīr 'Abdul 'Aziz

1 *Ibid., p. 445.*

2 *Riyāz., Eng. trans., pp. 349-51.*

received intelligence of the near approach of the Marathas and went to Durlabhrām with twenty troopers. He found that the Na'ib Nāẓim was still asleep and knew nothing of the approach of the Marathas. Durlabhrām woke up and got into a *palki* with the intention of taking shelter inside the fort of Barabati. On the road he saw Maratha troopers plundering the city. He then left the *palki* and took to horse and reached the fort after great difficulty. Raghujī Bhonsle arrived immediately after and surrounded the fort. Durlabhrām was frightened out of his wits, as he knew that 'Alīwardī had left Murshidabad for Patna and there was no chance of immediate succour. According to the suggestions of the *sanyāsīs* Durlabhrām proposed surrender but they were resisted by Mīr 'Abdul 'Aziz. Ghulām Ḥusain says that Mīr 'Abdul 'Aziz and certain Musalman officers stated that the surrender of the fort would be derogatory to the honour of the Nawāb Nāẓim 'Alīwardī Khān Mahābat Jang. As a matter of fact this Mīr 'Abdul 'Azīz refused to surrender the fort even after the surrender of the person of Durlabh-rām Rāi, the Nā'ib Nāẓim. For this reason Durlabhrām was imprisoned by the Marathas and kept as a hostage till Mīr 'Abdul 'Aziz surrendered and certain bankers paid three lakhs of rupees as his ransom. Even when the news of the surrender of Durlabhrām and the holding out of Barabati fort reached 'Alīwardī's ears he made no move towards Orissa. It was clearly impossible for him to do so in the face of the Afghan rebellion and he merely temporised by sending the embassy of Mun'im Khan to Raghujī described above. As soon as the proposal fell through Raghujī advanced towards Birbhum and brought the whole of Orissa, Medinipur and Hijli and the greater

part of Burdwan under his sway. Mīr 'Abdul 'Aziz surrendered and was permitted to join the Musalmans of Murshidabad, but Durlabhrām was detained for more than a year till the payment of the ransom.[1] The Afghans, who had rebelled, now sent proposals to Raghujī Bhonsle to join his standard and the latter found it to be a great advantage to have several thousands of trained Musalman troops under him. So he set out for Kharagpur, plundered Tikari and Shahpura in the Gaya district and crossed the Sone to reach the hills near Sasaram where the Afghans had taken refuge. 'Alīwardī followed him with 12,000 horse. A battle with the Marathas proved indecisive but his baggage was plundered. At this stage 'Alīwardī's *begum* sent two envoys named Muẓaffar 'Alī Khān Bahādur and Faqī 'Alī Khān to call upon Raghujī and Mīr Ḥabīb with proposals of peace. They were introduced to Mīr Ḥabīb and though Raghujī would have listened, Mīr Ḥabīb definitely refused to have any treaty with the murderer of Sarāfrāz Khān.[2] According to his advice Raghujī now took the road to Murshidabad and was followed by 'Alīwardī. But while the Maratha horse forayed over a country exceeding 80 miles in length, provisions and forage grew scarce in the Bengal camp, as the country was totally ruined. With lightning speed Raghujī fell upon Murshidabad, burnt and sacked the suburbs of Chhapāidaha and Mīr Ja'afar's garden and retired into Birbhum before the arrival of 'Alīwardī. 'Alīwardī fought a skirmish near Katwa where he had an advantage over the Marathas. Raghujī now left a small army under Mīr Ḥabīb and

1 *Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 1-6.*

2 *Ibid., p. 12.*

retired towards Nagpur.[1] The Marathas, though expelled from Bengal, still held Orissa in great strength with the dismissed troops of the Afghan leaders Shamsher Khān and Sardār Khan. After the fall of Durlabhrām, 'Alīwardī could not send any high officer of State to Orissa. Now he appointed Saiyad Aḥmad Khān Ṣaulat Jang, once more to be the Nā'ib Nāẓim of Orissa, but took care to retain him in safety at Murshidabad by sending the arch-traitor Mir Ja'afar Khān (afterwards Shuja'-ul-mulk Nawāb Mīr Ja'afar 'Alī Khān Bahādur) as his deputy. The *Faujdārīs* of Medinipur and Hijli were conferred upon Mir Ja'afar in additon to his double appointments, Chief Pay-Master-General to the troops (*Mīr Bakhsī*) and deputy to the Nā'ib Nāẓim of Orissa. In order to encourage the coward the appointments were bestowed upon him in a public durbar and he was honoured with a *khila'at,* an elephant, a horse, a sword and a *sarpech* and a *jhikā* of jewellery. Mīr Ja'afar deputed Mīr Isma'il, the son of his maternal uncle, to hold charge of the *Bakhshi's* office at Murshidabad and sent a Hindu named Sujan Singh as his deputy in the *Faujdārī* of Hijli. Then he set out for Katak as the head of 7,000 horse and 12,000 foot and defeated a body of Marathas and Afghans near Medinipur. The Marathas fled to Jaleswar where they were persued by Mīr Ja'afar, who encamped on the side of the Kehnasa (Kāsā-Bāsā ?) river. There he was frightened out of his wits by the news of the arrival of fresh Maratha troops under Raghujī's son Jānujī and the future victor of Plassey fairly turned tail and ran for his dear life, closely pursued by Maratha horse. The brave

[1] *Ibid., p. 14.*

Mīr did not stop till he reached Burdwan. Every one knew that Mīr Ja'afar controlled nearly 20,000 troops and all were surprised. 'Ālīwardī sent 'Aṭa-ullah Khān to his succour. Jānujī and Mīr Ḥabīb now attacked Burdwan. Mīr Ja'afar 'Alī now aspired to follow in the footsteps of his august master by murdering him and succeeding him on the *masnad* of Murshidabad, but the conspiracy leaked out and 'Āliwardī advanced to join the two generals.[1] Severely repirmanded for his cowardice, Mīr Ja'afar ceased to attend court and even had the courage of refusing to send for Sujan Singh when 'Ālīwardī wanted to check the account of Hijli. 'Āliwardī sent *Jasāwals* to bring Sujan Singh by force. He appointed Nūr-ullah Beg Khān as the Pay-Master General by dismissing Mīr Ja'afar but confirmed Sujan Singh in the *Faujdārī* of Hijli. Mīr Ja'afar's brigade was dismissed and the latter retired to Murshidabad where he threw himself on the mercy of Nawāzish Muḥammad Khān, the Nā'ib Nāẓim of Bengal.[2] 'Ālīwardī is said to have defeated the Marathas under Jānujī who rushed upon Murshidabad in the hope of plunder, but was headed back towards Medinipur, followed by the Bengal army. Upon the approach of the monsoon 'Ālīwardī returned to cantonment after abandoning his project of re-conquering Orissa. The traitor was further rewarded at this stage of his life by the projected rebellion of Zainuddīn Aḥmad Khān, his son-in-law and nephew and the Nāib Nāẓim of Bihar and the father of his dearest grandchild Sirāj-ud-daulah, who aspired to the *masnad* of Murshidabad. Zainuddīn strengthened his army by appointing

1 *Ibid., pp.* 24-25.

2 *Ibid., pp.* 26-27.

the dismissed troops of Shamsher Khān and Sardār Khān. But the result was that he himself was murdered by them and his family kept in confinement. Old Ḥāji Aḥmad, one of the greatest Musalman traitors of the 18th century, was captured together with his women and concubines and murdered after 15 or 16 days. Patna fell into the possession of the Afghans, who gathered a large army of their countrymen. 'Alīwardi had to raise another army and take the field in Bihar in 1749.[1] But the Marathas were on the *qui vive*. A body of troops sent to 'Alīwardi by Saif Khān of Purnia was attacked by the Marathas at Sultanganj near Bhagalpur and detained until assistance was sent to them. Mīr Ḥabīb attacked the rear of 'Alīwardi's army in the Bhagalpur district and plundered the baggage.[2] Both Jānujī and Mīr Ḥabīb arrived in the neighbourhood of Patna and sent notice of their arrival to Shamsher Khān and Sardār Khān. The Afghans now joined the Marathas and considered themselves to be in the service of Jānujī. They visited the Maratha camp and were honoured with *khila'ats*. When Mīr Ḥabīb came to their camp, they committed the blunder of detaining him. Mīr Ḥabīb was extricated from this difficult situation by his friend Mīrzā Ṣāleh. A body of Maratha troopers suddenly appeared and informed the Afghans that 'Alīwardi was attacking them. A confusion ensued during which Mīr Ḥabīb escaped to his own camp. He paid two lakhs of rupees through a banker and retired. This mistake of the Afghans was the real cause of their defeat in the battle, because 'Alīwardi's position was really very serious and if

1 *Ibid., pp. 29-47.*

2 *Ibid., pp. 47-49.*

the Marathas had attacked him from the rear while he was fighting with the Afghans in the front the day would have gone very hard upon him. The Maratha army was drawn at right angles to the Afghan line and was skirmishing till the end. The death of Sardār Khan broke the rank of the Afghans and was the cause of their defeat. The Marathas under Mīr Ḥabīb fell upon the left wing of 'Alīwardī's army and caused confusion. 'Alīwardī sent Faqir-ullah Beg Khān to the left wing. Murād Sher Khān was killed and the Afghans ran away from the field. The Maratha army thereupon commenced to retreat. 'Alīwardī was not in a position to pursue them without consolidating his own position at Patna. [1] Orissa was left in the possession of the Marathas and no attempt was made to re-conquer it, 'Alīwardī being kept fully occupied by the treacherous members of his family and the rebellions in his army.

After the defeat of the Afghans, Jānujī had left Bihar and tried to plunder Murshidabad during 'Alīwardī's absence, but his mother's death compelled him to return home, leaving Mīr Ḥabīb with an army of Afghans and Marathas at Medinipur. Raghujī sent his younger son, Bimbāji, to join Mīr Ḥabīb. 'Alīwardī advanced from Murshidabad to Katwa and sent Bahādur 'Alī Khān, the commander of his light artillery to Burdwan with 8,000 horse and foot. When 'Alīwardī reached Burdwan, Bahādur 'Alī was ordered to proceed to Medinipur. On the way the gunners refused to move as their pay was in arrears. The detachment had to be disbanded as 'Alīwardī was not in a position to pay cash. Without a single gun 'Alīwardī

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 50-56.



Details on Spokes of Wheel, Konārak

advanced upon Medinipur when Mir Ḥabib set fire to his own encampment and retired towards Orissa. 'Aliwardi crossed the Kasai without entering Medinipur. There was another skirmish and Mir Ḥabib retired towards Katak. 'Aliwardi Khān ordered the generals to follow them. The former encamped in Balasore and learned that Mir Ḥabib and Mānāji with their Maratha and Afghan troops had retired towards the Garhjats. 'Aliwardi advanced as far as Bhadrak and Hajipur, about 36 miles from Katak, where he received letters and messengers from Saiyad Nūr, Sarandāz Khān and a Hindu named Dharamdās, three officers of infantry who commanded the garrison of Barabati fort, offering submission. Without paying any attention to them 'Aliwardi tried to pursue the Marathas and Afghans but had to retire on account of the difficulties of the country. He set out with a small army and reached Katak by forced marches. When he reached that city not more than 300 people were able to keep up with him and if the garrison had attacked him at that time he would have succumbed. In the afternoon Saiyad Nūr and Dharamdās paid a visit to him and promised to bring Sarandāz Khān in the morning. When Sarandāz arrived next day, 'Aliwardi, with his usual treachery, fell upon him and captured him after having wounded him mortally. Ghulām Ḥusain relates truthfully that the Maratha garrison of Barabati, after hearing how their commanders had been treated, refused to surrender. At this stage Mir Ja'afar 'Ali Khān, Faqir-ullah Beg and Rājā Durlabhrām Rāi arrived and pressed the seige of Barabati and the garrison surrendered after a fortnight. The rains having set in, 'Aliwardi retired and Mir Ḥabib emerged from his safe retreat in the

Garhjats. He fell upon the commanding officer at Katak six or seven days after the departure of 'Alīwardī and defeated and captured him. The news reached 'Alīwardī at Balasore, but as the monsoon was far advanced he left Orissa to its fate and retired to Murshidabad.[1]

Mīr Ḥabīb did not permit 'Alīwardī Khān to rest for any length of time. So 'Alīwardī advanced to Katwa at the end of the rains and then proceeded to Medinipur through Burdwan. In the meanwhile the Marathas had occupied the whole of Orissa and sent their troops into barracks. 'Alī Qulī Khān, the commander of Sirāj-ud-daulah's troops, was appointed the *faujdār* of Medinipur and 'Alīwardī desired to employ that prince against the Marathas. The latter sent forth Mīr Qāzim Khān and Dost Muḥammad Khān in advance and followed with the main army. Dost Muḥammad caught the Marathas and fought a skirmish after which the Marathas fled. Sirāj-ud-daulah advanced as far as Balasore and stopped there. 'Alīwardī now tried to put Mīr Ḥabīb between his own troops and the advance guards under Sirāj-ud-daulah. He sent orders to the latter to retire and they joined hands at Narayangarh. Both armies then retired to Medinipur. A quarrel broke out about the accounts of the army, and two officers named Khwājah 'Abdul Ḥādī Khān and Saiyad Muḥammad Yasāwal detected the frauds and were introduced to 'Alīwardī by the superintendent of the audience hall. They pointed out that on account of the collusion between the Accountant's office and the Paymaster of the Army the musters of the troops were false

1 *Ibid., pp. 76-85.*

and in reality less troops were borne upon them. In fact, only one-fourth of the number borne on the musters were to be found on parade. It was found on examination that an officer who received pay for 1,700 horse could not muster even 70 troopers. This detection caused great dissatisfaction in the army, specially at this troublesome time. Many of the commanders fled from the camp at Medinipur to Burdwan. At this time news was received that the Marathas were advancing swiftly upon Murshidabad. When 'Aliwardi came to Burdwan he learned that the Maratha army had again retired towards the hills of western Bengal. After attempting to pursue them for some time he retired to Burdwan and waited there for some certain intelligence about the Marathas. Here, the arch-traitor Mir Ja'afar 'Ali Khān appeared before him from Murshidabad and was taken to task for his embezzlements and false musters. He was ordered to dismiss his own brother (? cousin) Mir Isma'il and to appoint Khwājah 'Abdul Ḥādi Khān as Deputy Pay-Master (*Nā'ib Bakhshī*) of his own troops and he complied with a bad grace.[1]

Intelligence was received that the Marathas had appeared near Medinipur and 'Aliwardi set out for that place after having despatched Sirāj-ud-daulah to Murshidabad. But at Medinipur 'Aliwardi could not get certain information about the movements of his enemies and went into cantonment at that place. He repaired the palace in the fort and even sent for his family from Murshidabad after issuing an order to the troops to prepare to pass the

[1] *Ibid., pp. 85-91.*

rainy season in that cantonment. From this place the old traitor 'Alīwardi had to run after his scapegrace darling Sirāj-ud-daulah, who had taken it into his head to run away with a beautiful hand-maiden, Lutf-un-nisa, to Bhagulpur. He arrived at Patna where he was not very well received by the Nā'ib Nāẓim Rāja Jānakīrām. His party forced its way through Patna fort. In the meanwhile 'Alīwardi arrived at Barh, sent messengers to Sirāj-ud-daulah and finally reached Patna. After a reconciliation he returned to Murshidabad with his grandson. From the way he wrote to Mīr Ja'afar 'Alī Khān and Rāja Durlabh-rām Rāi, who had been left in command of the troops at Medinipur which were regarded as being quite sufficient to drive out the Marathas from the whole of Orissa. It appeared that he was losing heart. Weakened in mind and body by disease and age and surrounded on all sides by traitors, the great traitor 'Alīwardi was no longer in a position to cope with the Maratha army or the energy of Mīr Ḥabīb. Durlabhrām and Mīr Ja'afar 'Alī came to meet 'Alīwardi near Burdwan. The Marathas had already advanced to Medinipur but fled according to their usual custom after engaging in a skirmish. They retired to the Garhjat and having baffled pursuit debouched into Orissa through another route. 'Alīwardi retired to Medinipur, whence he was obliged to send proposals of peace. Here the accounts differ and Ghulām Ḥusain, a professed sycophant of 'Alīwardi and his breed, actually states that the proposals of peace emanated from Mīr Ḥabīb and the Marathas. Kāśīrav Rājeśvar Gupte's *Bakhar* of the Nāgpurkar Bhonsles distinctly mentions that 'Alīwardi's application for a cessation of hostilities was sent with his envoy

to Nagpur where terms were negotiated with Jānoji.[1] But the excuses which he trots forth on behalf of 'Aliwardi prove that the latter was solely responsible for the proposals. He states that the decline in 'Aliwardi's health and above all the state of his dominions required a sacrifice. He was 75 years of age and besides fighting for 12 long years with the Marathas he had fought in the intervals with Afghan rebels like Muṣṭafā Khān and Shamsher Khān. The country to the south of the Ganges and west of the Bhagirathi had been devastated by the Marathas. So 'Aliwardi was at last compelled to sue for peace. The author of the *Riyāz* states that the proposals of peace were sent at the request of 'Aliwardi's son-in-law and nephew Nawāzish Muḥammad Khān. The arch-traitor Mir Ja'afar 'Alī was directed to send trusted messengers to the Maratha camp and he sent Mīr Ḥasan 'Alī and Mīr Ghauṣ 'Ali as ambassadors. Mir Ḥabīb now appointed Mirza Ṣālih as his own envoy. The terms of the peace were :—

I. That Mir Ḥabib-ullah should be regarded as the Na'ib Nāẓim of the *Ṣūbah* of Orissa in the place of all other officers hitherto appointed by 'Aliwardi Khān.

II. That the revenue of the province of Orissa should be paid to Raghuji Bhonsle in lieu of the arrears due to the troops of the prince.

III. That in addition to the revenue of Orissa a sum of 12 lakhs of rupees should be paid every year as *chauth* from the revenues of Bengal on condition that the Marathas will not attack that province any more.

IV. That the money to be paid from Bengal as *chauth*

[1] *Bakhar, p. 45.* (Edited with notes by Vāman Dājī Ok and published by Kāśināth Nārāyaṇ Sāne, B. A., in Saka 1807).

should be paid by the Qanungoi's office and the Muṭasaddis.

V. That the river Sonamukia (?) which runs by Balasore *Bandar* should be regarded as the boundary between the provinces of Bengal and Orissa.

Maratha authorities differ on most important details from the *Sa'ir-ul-Muta'kharīn.* It is stated that thirty-two lakhs of rupees were paid as *chauth* before the treaty. Jānoji oppressed 'Aliwardī Khān so much for two years that he was compelled to agree to all demands made by him. He sent an envoy to Raghujī Bhonsle at Nagpur. The terms of the treaty as given by Sardesai are as follows :—

I. That the Nawāb will pay the *Chauth* of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa regularly to the Bhonsle.

II. Mīr Ḥabīb will return to the Nawāb and that the latter will nominate him governor of Orissa. The entire revenue of that province will be paid by Mīr Ḥabīb to the Bhonsle.

III. Marathas will not invade Bengal any more, in return for which the Nawāb will pay the Bhonsle twelve lakhs of rupees every year.

IV. The province of Cuttack, *i. e.*, Orissa as far as the river Suvarṇarekhā, was to be ceded to the Marathas and the latter were not to set their feet on the other side of that river.

V. Twenty-five lakhs of rupees were to be paid immediately in lieu of blackmail (*Khaṇḍanī*) in cash.[1]

[1] *Nagpurkar Bhohslenchen Bakhar, p. 46; quoted by Sardesai in Mārāthī Riyāsat, Madhya Bibhāg Vol. II, p. 492.*

It appears now that the treaties between 'Alīwardī and Raghujī Bhonsle I were in existence in Murshidabad up to 1769, as copies were sent by Nawāb Muḥammad Rizā Khān to the governor of the East India Company at Calcutta and the original treaties may still be in existence either at Murshidabad or in the Imperial Record Office. The treaty written out by Nawāb 'Alīwardī Khān and sent to Raghujī Bhonsle I ran as follows :—

"After invoking and calling to witness the Prophet of God, he says as follows :—I swear by Qurān that I, 'Alivardī Khān, have agreed with the Mahārājā Chhattarpati Rām Rājā to pay the *chauth* for the *ṣūbahs* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa ; and in conjunction with Shahāmat Jang, Ṣaulat Jung, and Sirāju'd-Daulah, I likewise swear by the holy Qurān that we will enter into a firm alliance with Raghujī and his posterity and consider his friends and foes as ours. And I agree from the 18th day of the month *Āsin* of the Bengali Era 1157, answering to the 9th day of the month Zu'l-Qa'd in the 4th year of the reign of Aḥmad Shāh, to pay annually the sum of 12 lakhs of rupees on account of the *chauth* for the *ṣūbahs* of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, to be remitted in two *qists* every six months to Benares either through Jagat Seṭh or the Mahārājā Sarūp Chand, as he (Raghujī) shall judge proper ; on this condition that neither Raghujī nor his posterity, nor any Marhattas, nor any other chief in alliance with him shall remain in or enter these *ṣūbahs*. Nor shall they in any manner molest or have any concerns with the *zamīndārs* thereof. And if, which God forbid, I should be engaged in war, he shall assist me. If he comes himself, it will be better, if not, he shall send one of his children with whatever num-

ber of troops I shall want, and from the day of their arrival so long as I entertain them, I will give each sepoy a rupee a day for his maintenance. They are to be satisfied there-with and are not to demand any more. And when I dismiss them, they shall without delay return home and not molest the ryots of these provinces in coming and going.[1]

The original treaty signed by Raghujī Bhonsle I and delivered to 'Ālīwardī Khān was also preserved at Murshidabad at least up to 1769 and a copy of which was sent by Nawāb Muḥammad Rizā Khān to the Governor. It ran as follows :—

"After invoking and calling to witness Srī Sadā Sheo, Khanḍe Rāo Jagan Nath, the holy waters of the Ganges and *Belbhanḍār*, he says as follows :—I agree together with my sons Jānūjī and Mānūjī to enter into a firm alliance with the Nawāb Mahabāt Jang and his successors Shahāmat Jang and Sirāju'd-Daulah, to be faithful thereto till the last breath of our lives, and to consider their friends and foes as ours. On condition of the peace I am to receive 12 *lakhs* of rupees yearly including everything, the payments to be made agreeably to the statement drawn up. Neither I nor any of my posterity, nor other potent *sardārs* in alliance with me, shall remain in these three *ṣūbahs* dependent on the Nawāb 'Alīwardī Khān or in any way molest the *zamindārs* or have any concern with them. Rām Rājā, who has settled the *chauth* of the aforementioned *ṣūbahs* on me, shall not send any other *sardārs* into those quarters. If, which God forbid, the Nawāb should at any time be engaged in war and want assistance, I will either

[1] *Imperial Record Department ; Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, 1767-69, pp. 331-32, No. 1247.*



Jagamohana of the Surya Deul—View from East
Konārak—Puri District

repair to him myself or send one of my children with whatever number of troops the Nawāb should ask ; and from the time of their arrival till the time he thinks proper to dismiss them, he will give them as much money as is necessary for their subsistence and they are to demand no more. When they are dismissed, they shall without delay return home and not oppress the ryots of those *ṣūbahs* when going and coming."[1]

A long note was forwarded with the copies of these treaties by Muḥammad Rizā Khān in his letter dated 1st January 1769.[2] The discrepancies between the Maratha and the Musalman version of these treaties cannot be accounted for. The summary as preserved in the Imperial Record Department appears to be the more trustworthy of the two. There is no mention of the previous payment of thirty-two lakhs of rupees before the treaty and the condition of paying twenty-five lakhs immediately in Persian Records. Such discrepancies also occur in Sardesai's account of the Maratha War of 1741-51 in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. He states about the Maratha inçursions into Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa that, "In these provinces the Bhonsles led four principal campaigns. In them Raghujī, Bhāskarpant and Raghuji's son were present but everyone was not present in each of them. The dates of these campaigns are as follows :

First—1742 summer to autumn.
Second—1744
Third—1748
Fourth—1751."[3]

1 *Ibid., p. 331, No. 1245.*
2 *Ibid., p. 330, No. 1244.*
3 *Mārāṭhī Riyāsat, Madhya Bibhāg, Vol. II, p. 484.*

In reality the third and the fourth campaigns were continual, beginning in 1748 and ending with the treaty in 1751. There is no mention of these details in Wills' account.[1]

This treaty was ratified with 'Aliwardi by Jānujī and then Maratha troops were withdrawn from Bengal. During the governorship of Śivarām Bhaṭṭa Sāṭhe Orissa prospered and cultivation increased. Mīr Ḥabībullah triumphed and succeeded in punishing the murderer of Sarāfrāz Khān and the protegee of Shuja'uddīn Muḥammad Khān after twelve long years of strenuous warfare. Unfortunately, he did not live long to enjoy his triumph but he had succeeded at the risk of his life and veerything he held dear in imparting a salutary lesson to Indian Musalman traitors of the eighteenth century.

During the Maratha incursions the English merchants of Balasore suffered much. In 1748 Mr. Kelsall, Resident at Balasore, reported that the Marathas had attacked the English factory at Balaramgarhi at the mouth of the Balasore river but that they had been driven off by the Nawāb's troops and pursued as far as Katak. He writes on the 25th February 1748, suggesting the running of the post by mounted postmen. In August of the same year Mr. Kelsall reports the Maratha attack at Balaramagarhi. Two years later in 1750 the same Mr. Kelsall complains that "Owing to the disturbances in the country he could not purchase any ready-money goods as the weavers or greater part of them have been obliged to abscond."[2]

[1] *British Relations with the Nagpur State in the 18 Century, Nagpur, 1926, p. 15.*

[2] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1883, Vol. LII, Part I, pp. 242-43.*

Considerable misunderstanding existed among early English writers about the true nature of the position of the Marathas in Orissa after the treaty of 1751 between Raghuji Bhonsle I and Nawāb 'Alīwardī Khān. Owing to the appointment of Mīr Ḥabībullah Khān and later on of Mīr Muṣliḥuddīn Khān as Nāib Nāẓims, the English thought that the Nawāb's authority was being continued. So they speak of another Maratha invasion in 1753. In that year the Resident at Balasore writes on the 1st February that "Weavers at Balasore complain of the great scarcity of rice and provisions of all kinds occasioned by the devastation of the Mahrattas, who, 600 in number, after plundering Balasore had gone to the Nellegreen (Nilgiri ?) hills; several weavers have brought their looms into the factory; and the few who remain declare they shall be obliged to quit the place. Desires he will send him 1500 or 2000 maunds of rice on the Honorable Company's account." Even after the appointment of Śivarām Bhaṭṭa Sāṭhe as the Maratha *ṣūbahdār* of Katak in 1756 and the separate treaty entered with Jānujī Bhonsle by Nawāb Mir Ja'afar 'Alī Khān in 1760 the English factors in Orissa thought that the Marathas would not retain Orissa permanently.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE MARATHA RULE IN ORISSA

The province of Orissa was conquered from the Musalmans by the Bhonsle chiefs of Nagpur, who are wrongly called Rajahs of Berar by European writers because their ancestor Pārsojī Bhonsle was appointed collector of *chauth* by *Chhatrapati* Shāhu[1]. Much misunderstanding exists even at the present day regarding the position of the Bhonsles of Nagpur. They were not the agents of the Brahman Peshwas, and being Bhonsles or people of the same village as the ancestors of Shāhjī, the father of Śivājī, they gave out that they were the agnates of the Maratha royal families of Satara and Kolhapur. They resented the usurpation of royal power in the Maratha kingdom to the best of their abilities[2] and Raghujī Bhonsle I had at one time even dreamt of giving a son in adoption to the imbecile *Chhatrapati* Shāhu or Śivājī III. Inexorable fate brought the termagant Tārā-Bāī to the Court of Satara during the last days of Shāhu and permitted her to palm off an impostor as her own grandson to be adopted as the heir to the Maratha throne. It is quite possible that had a Bhonsle of Nagpur been adopted by Shāhu the trend of Maratha history might have been quite different.

The Peshwas were mightily jealous of the power and the prestige of the Bhonsles of Nagpur in Northern India

1 *Mārāthī Riyāsat, Madhya Bibhāg, Vol. III, p. 280.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. II, p. 6.*

and modern Maratha historians rightly deplore the long-standing jealousy between the sons of Bājī Rāo I and Raghujī Bhonsle I, which prevented the latter from sending succour to the unfortunate Nawāb Siraj-ud-daulah on the eve of the fateful battle of Plassey, where a Maratha contingent added to the faithful bands of bodyguards under the faithful Mīr Mardān 'Alī and Rājā Mohan Lāl and the French troops under M. 'St. Claire might have changed the course of Indian history.

In the beginning the arrangements for the government of Orissa followed the celebrated Mārāṭhī adage, "do nothing new, do not change the old." The shell of the government remained Mughal but the core was entirely changed. Nominally Mīr Ḥabībullah was the Na'ib Nāẓim of the Mughal *ṣūbah* of Orissa under the Nawāb Nāẓim 'Alīwardī Khān Mahābat Jang, who held his appointment under His Majesty the Emperor Aḥmad Shāh. In reality Aḥmad Shāh was trembling for his very life under the tutelage of the great Musalman traitor Ghāziuddīn II Fīrūz Jang, the worthy spawn of the archtraitor Chīnkilich Khān, Niẓām-ul-mulk Āṣaf Jāh I of Ḥaidarābād, Deccan. 'Alīwardī Khān was really an independent prince who had thrown off the mask of obedience to the shadow Emperor Muḥammad Shāh of Delhi by refusing to forward the revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1742 on the pretext of Maratha incursions. In reality Orissa had been ceded to the Bhonsles of Nagpur in full sovereignty, and Mīr Ḥabibullah was their governor. The new Maratha government was, therefore, a forerunner of the masterly stroke of diplomacy known in Indian history as the Dual Government of Clive in Bengal.

The river Sonamukhia is perhaps a mistake for the Suvarṇarekhā, which we find to be the southern boundary of the province of Bengal as soon as the English East India Company had assumed the reins of government of that province. Mīr Ḥabib was invested with the supreme command of the Maratha army of occupation in Orissa. Under him there was a Maratha officer, a relation of Raghujī Bhonsle, who had strict orders to obey the Musalman Na'ib Nāẓim. Mīr Ḥabib managed the revenue department of the province and also received the sum of twelve lakhs annually as the *chauth* from Bengal. He discharged the arrears of pay due to the Afghan mercenaries, whom he had employed after the defeat and death of Muṣṭafā Khān and Shamsher Khān at the hands of 'Alīwardi. He discharged them gradually and strengthened his own position in the province of Orissa. His fall was swift. Raghujī sent his own son Jānujī as his deputy and the commander of all Maratha troops in Orissa. In the meanwhile, Mir Ḥabīb's own officers had grown jealous of his power and prestige and turned traitors to him. Gradually they turned Jānujī's mind against his trusted ally. Jānujī was of an overbearing disposition and would not pay implicit obedience even to his own father. He ordered Mīr Ḥabībullah to render accounts of the revenues of Orissa. He was caught at a disadvantage when his own troops were away from Katak, surrounded with Maratha troops and hacked to pieces according to the orders of Jānujī. According to a Maratha account, 'Alīwardī brought about the death of Mīr Ḥabībullah by a stratagem. He forged a letter using the name of Mīr Ḥabībullah and contrived to have it put in Jānujī's hands,

who ordered the execution of Mīr Habībullah immediately.[1] Mīrzā Muṣliḥ-uddīn who had negotiated the treaty of peace between Mīr Ḥabīb and 'Alīwardī, was now appointed Na'ib Nāẓim of Orissa, both by Raghujī Bhonsle I and 'Alīwardī Khan. He was a man of peaceful disposition and permitted matters to drift. He recognised himself not as a subordinate of the Nawāb Nāẓim of Bengal but the deputy of the Bhonsle chief of Nagpur.[2] In the end he was obliged to resign his office because he could not manage to collect sufficient revenue to keep the government of Orissa going, such was the devastation of the province during the twelve years' war between the Mughals and the Marathas. He had foolishly agreed to pay four lakhs more over and above the stipulated amount of the *chauth* and failed to pay it. In 1755, a little before or after the death of Raghujī Bhonsle I, Mir Muṣliḥ-uddin formally resigned and a few months later a Maratha or Deccani Brahman was appointed the *ṣubāh* or governor of the province.[3] Śivarām Bhaṭṭa Sāṭhe, called Sheobhat Sāntrā by mistake by Musalman and European writers, took up the reins of government in 1756 during the rule of Jānujī and continued to rule over the province for eight years. He is repeatedly mentioned in the correspondence of the officers of the East India Company, a portion of which has been made public by the Record Office of the British Empire in India.

Upon the death of Rāmachandra Deva II of Khurda in 1742-43 Mīr Ḥabīb tried to place the rājā of Paṭiyā

1 *Mārāthī Riyāsat Madhya Bibhag, Vol. II, p. 413.*

2 *Sa'ir-ul-Muta'kharin, Eng. trans., Vol. II, pp. 115-17.*

3 *Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri, p. 40.*

Padmanābha Deva on the throne, but Padmanābha was slain by the adherents of the house of Khurda. The succession of the Khurda *qadi* now passed on to Vīra Kiśora Deva I, a grandson of Rāmachandra Deva II. The war with Padmanābha Deva took place in the second *aṅka* or the first year of his reign. The *Mādalā Pāñji*, as the late Mr. Monmohan Chakravarti has recorded, states that the Mughals were driven out of Orissa in his fourth *aṅka* or 1745-46. Vīra Kiśora I ruled in troublesome times. The Marathas laid waste the *parganah* of Khinda and captured Puri in the seventeenth *aṅka* or the fourteenth year of his reign. He continued to rule till 1779.[1] In the twenty-third *aṅka* the Khurda territories were attacked by another chief named Nārāyaṇadeva of Parlakimedi and Vīra Kiśora's *Diwān* was sent to Katak to beg for help from the Maratha governor. Nārāyaṇadeva was expelled, but the *parganahs* of Lembai,[2] Rahang and Puri town had to be mortgaged to the Marathas. He was bled systematically by his general (*Bakhshī*) Dāmodara Bhramaravara, who captured the king and carried him a prisoner to Katak, where the Maratha governor Rājārām Pundit kept him in prison. Two dreadful famines are recorded as having broken out during the reign of this prince.[3]

The records of the Honourable East India Company, as far as they are available to the public, show that Śivarām was a very able and energetic officer. We can judge this

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1837, Vol, VI. p. 765; Ibid., 1898, Vol. LXVII, part I, p. 383.*

[2] *Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri, p. 48.*

[3] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1837, Vol. VI, p. 766.*



Rekha temple at Chharrā, near Purulia, Manbhum

from the tone of annoyance and petulance in the correspondence of the officers of the East India Company with him. Just before the date on which the published Calendar begins, Nawāb Mir Ja'afar 'Ali Khān entered into a separate treaty with Rājā Jānuji Bhonsle regarding the payment of *chauth.*[1] The earliest letter on record is a circular issued on the 26th January, 1761, to three Maratha officers named Mukunda Pandit, Sheobhat Sāntrā and one Rāgmānji Jāchak. The last named person cannot be recognised in the mutilated form in which his name has been preserved by the Persian *munshis* employed by the British Government. The correct Marathi form ought to be Raghunāthji Jāchak. In this letter the Governor of the Presidency of Fort William requests these three Maratha officers to order their people not to molest the Company's forces.[2] On the same date two letters were issued to an agent of the East India Company, named Ghulām Muṣṭafā, directing him to be regular and careful in sending letters to and from Madras. From these two and subsequent letters it is evident that the Company stationed agents at Balasore and Katak to forward their correspondence between Calcutta and Madras by the land route.[3] The district of Medinipur had been ceded to the East India Company some time before November, 1760, as on the 12th of that month Nawāb Mir Qāsim 'Ali was directed to order the *Faujdārs* of Medinipur and Chittagong to come to Calcutta immediately.[4] On the same date another letter

1 *See poste.*

2 *Imperial Records Department; Calendar of Persian Correspondence. Calcutta, 1911, Vol. I, 1759-67, p. 52, No. 838.*

3 *Ibid., Nos. 839-40.*

4 *Ibid., p. 35, No. 567.*

was written to the same Nawāb requesting him to send some troops to assist the Company in the expulsion of the Marathas from Medinipur.[1] A letter to Rāgmānjī Jāchak or Raghunāthjī Jāchak offers compliments on the 15th November 1760.[2] On the same date another letter was written to another agent named Gopalpuri requesting him to forward letters to Madras. Issues of the same date contain another letter to Rājā Nārāyaṇ Deo, perhaps the same as that against whom an application for help was sent to the Marathas by Vīra Kiśora Deva I,[3] regretting the Company's inability to supply troops to him. The recently ceded districts were not yet completely conquered, as a letter was received from Nawāb Qāsim 'Alī Khān in which he says that he is determined to punish the Rājās of Burdwan and Medinipur. Sulaiman Beg, the *Faujdār* of Hughly, informed the governor that the utmost attention will be paid to troops proceeding to Burdwan and Medinipur.[4] On the 26th November of the same year two letters were written to one Mīr Wāriṣ 'Alī, evidently the *Faujdār* of Hijli, asking for help to purchase rice for the people of Mr. Dacre.[5] Misrī Khān was probably the *Faujdār* of Medinipur, as two letters were received from him on the 26th of November stating that as all arrears have been paid to the sepoys at Medinipur, no revenue can be sent from that *chaklah* and that he is prevented from seeing the governor out of fear of highwaymen. A reply

1 *Ibid., No. 568.*
2 *Ibid., p. 36, No. 582.*
3 *Ibid., Nos. 579, 583.*
4 *Ibid., p. 37, Nos. 596, 606.*
5 *Ibid., p. 38, Nos. 622-23.*

was sent to him on the 28th stating that the Company's troops will be sent soon and requesting him to transact business in the usual manner.[1] A letter was received from Rājā Jugal Kishor in which the latter describes the manner in which Medinipur was formerly plundered.[2] This interesting document, if recovered in original and published in full, may throw very interesting light on the history of Orissa in 1760. On the 1st of December of the same year Rājā Rāj Nārāyaṇ of Kāśijorā was informed that the Company's troops will shortly proceed to Medinipur to chastise the disaffected. On the 3rd of the same month Rāgmānjī Jāchak was requested to order his people not to molest the Company's men or intercept any English letters coming from Madras. A watch and other things were presented to him.[3] The officer in charge of the frontier station of Medinipur was a certain Major White, whom Misrī Khān of Medinipur was directed to consult on all points on the 7th of the same month.[4] A letter was written on the 14th of the same month to one Khūsh-hāl Singh of Balasore requesting him to favour the chief of Medinipur with his attentions. The tone of the letter indicates that this man was a Maratha officer.[5] Rājā Nārāyaṇ Deo of Parlakimedi was informed on the 18th of the same month that guns cannot be supplied to him until sufficient reason is given for their use. On the same date Misrī Khān of Medinipur informed the

1 *Ibid., p. 39, Nos. 634-35, 639.*
2 *Ibid., p. 40, 647.*
3 *Ibid., Nos. 652, 660.*
4 *Ibid., p. 41, No. 674.*
5 *Ibid., p. 43, No. 695.*

Governor that the sepoys at that place had been paid but there were some who had not received four months' pay and they were very discontented.[1]

The arrangements made by the East India Company for the defence of Medinipur were not needless, as Śivarām invaded the Company's territories and on the 28th of December, 1760, the Governor wrote to Nawāb Mīr Qāsim 'Ali Khān requesting him to proceed to Birbhum to oppose the Marathas.[2] Another officer, named Muṣliḥ-uddīn Muḥammad Khān, states on the 31st of the same month that the revenue of the *parganah* of Tamluk had been paid by him to the Nawāb.[3] It is impossible to find out whether this person is the same as Mīrzā Ṣaliḥ, the friend of Mīr Ḥabib, who was created Mīr Muṣliḥ-uddīn by 'Alīwardi Khān at the conclusion of the treaty with the Marathas in 1751. On the 2nd of January, 1761, Nawāb Mīr Qāsim 'Alī was informed that Mahābat Khān had been directed to pay the revenue of Tamluk. A more conciliatory tone was now adopted towards Rājā Nārāyaṇ Deo, as on the 2nd he was informed that his measures against the Marathas were approved by the Governor.[4] Evidently Nārāyaṇ Deo had to be recognised as an ally of the Company against the Marathas, who had helped Vīra Kiśora Deva I to drive him out. In the same breath the Governor orders Rāgmānjī Jāchak to forward the Governor's letter immediately.[5] It cannot be understood how the

1 *Ibid., p. 44, Nos. 707-8.*
2 *Ibie., p. 46, No. 737.*
3 *Ibib., p. 46, No. 743.*
4 *Ibid., p. 48, No. 762.*
5 *Ibid., No. 763.*

officer of an enemy may be ordered not to intercept correspondence. On the 9th Rājā Rāj Nārāyaṇ of Kāśījoṛā was desired to attend on Mr. Johnstone. On the 12th a letter was received from Khūsh-hāl Singh, formerly of Balasore, praying that the allowance formerly given to the *Faujdār* of Medinipur may be granted to him.[1] On the same date Rāgmānjī or Raghunāthjī was informed by the Governor that the English East India Company were not prepared to pay any duties to the agent of the Marathi governor.[2] On the 24th of January a complaint was received from Luṭf-ur-rahmān, the *Faujdār* of Balasore, about the oppression of one Mr. Burdett and his *muṭsaddīs* on account of which trade had come to a standstill in that port. The position of Balasore is very ambiguous and it appears that the Factor or trade agent in that port possessed considerable powers even during Maratha occupation. Luṭf-ur-rahmān was probably a Musalman in Maratha employ. Two days later a letter was written to Mukund Pandit directing him not to molest the Company's forces and copies of it were sent to Śivarām and Rāgmānjī or Raghunāthjī.[3]

Troops continued to be poured into the south-eastern frontier and on the 29th January, Rājā Rāj Nārāyaṇ of Kāśījoṛā was directed to assist the Company's troops proceeding to the frontier station.[4] To this the latter replied that he would try his best to supply bullocks and coolies.[5] From letters written by the Governor on the

1 *Ibid., p. 49, Nos. 782, 794.*

2 *Ibid., p. 50, No. 801.*

3 *Ibib., p. 52, Nos. 827, 838.*

4 *Ibid., p. 53, No. 852.*

5 *Ibid., p. 54, No. 869,*

4th February 1761, it appears that Khush-hāl Chand was now at Katak and that Mr. Burdett had left Balasore after the troubles and had appointed Ghulām Muṣṭafa *munshī* at Balasore. Khūsh-hāl Chand was requested to send his bills to Ghulām Muṣṭafa at Balasore and the latter was directed to raise money locally. He was informed that otherwise money would be sent to him in specie from Calcutta.[1] Mr. Burdett's departure from Balasore after the troubles created by him brought the Company's business in Balasore factory to an end. The Nawāb Mīr Qāsim 'Alī Khān was informed on the 5th of February that the Marathas had attacked Mr. Johnstone's army at Medinipur and two pieces of ordnance had been sent to him.[2] This is the first recorded instance of an action between the Company's troops and the Marathas. It refers to Śivarām Bhaṭṭa's first offensive against the Company for the stoppage of *chauth*. On the 6th letters were written to Murali Rām and Rājā Rāj Nārāyaṇ directing them to remain with Mr. Johnson (Johnstone) and on the next day a letter was written to Rājā Jagadānanda[3] requesting him to secure his own country from molestation by the Marathas and to pay the revenue to Mr. Johnson. On the 8th a letter was written to Rājā Rāj Nārāyaṇ of Kāśijoṛā requesting him to provide provisions for Mr. Johnson's army.[4] On the 10th February, 1761, the Governor informed Mīr Qāsim 'Alī and Rāgmānjī Jāchak that Śivarām Bhaṭṭa attacked Medinipur but retired to Katak on the arrival of

1 *Ibid., p. 55, Nos. 878-79.*
2 *Ibid., p. 56. Nos. 880, 884.*
3 *Ibid., Vol. III, p. IX.*
4 *Ibid., Vol. I, p. 57, Nos. 887, 889, 891.*

the Company's troops. The latter was informed of the Governor's pleasure on hearing that he had directed Sa'adat Khān not to levy customs on the Company's cloth.[1] This is the only recorded narrative of the Maratha invasion of Medinipur in 1760-61. We do not know what was the real position of Rāgmānjī Jāchak or Raghunāthji Jāchak, because he seems to ignore the *Sūbhā* Śivarām Bhaṭṭa Sāṭhe. On the 12th of the same month he wrote to the British stating that he has written to Sa'adat Khān not to demand duty on the Company's cloth. At the same time expresses pleasure, perhaps diplomatic, on hearing that the Company's troops have reached Medinipur in spite of the fact that his own troops were worsted in a skirmish. He also writes to the Governor requesting him to direct that British troops should not be allowed to create any disturbance.[2] Very probably Rāgmānji or Raghunathjī was an officer at Nagpur and the British kept on flirting with the Central Government of the Bhonsles, while war was going on in the Medinipur with Maratha troops in Orissa. Nawāb Mir Qāsim 'Alī Khān had written praying for British troops for the defence of Murshidabad. He was informed on the 14th that the Marathas had retired towards Katak. But in consequence of the Nawāb's request troops were sent under Mr. Knox to bar the road from Medinipur.[3] On the 15th of the same month Rājā Rāj Nārāyaṇ of Kāśījoṛā was requested to supply labour and provisions to the troops under Major Knox.[4] On the

1 *Ibid., pp. 58-59, Nos. 900, 908.*

2 *Ibid., p. 60, No. 913.*

3 *Ibid., p. 61, No. 923.*

4 *Ibid., p. 62, No. 932.*

17th Rājā Jagadānanda was directed to pay the revenue to Mr. Johnstone, chief of Medinipur. On the same date a complaint was sent to Rājā Rāj Nārāyaṇ about the behaviour of his officers towards Messrs. Johnstone and White. A circular was issued to Rājā Rāj Nārāyaṇ, Rājā Ānanda Lāl and the Na'ib Mahābat Qūlī Khān directing them to provide draught animals, labour and provisions for Captain Knox and Dilawar Jang Bahādur, sent to drive out the Marathas.[1] On the 23rd of the same month the Munshi Ghulām Muṣṭafa received a letter to be forwarded to John Bristow, who was to pay Rs. 100 to the officers of the Durbar for the release of Khūsh-hāl Chand and Rs. 400 as wages to the Company's servants employed in the postal agency to Madras. At the same time Mukund Pandit, Rāgmānjī Jāchak and Śivarām Bhaṭṭa were requested to direct their people to release Khush-hāl Chand as he was but a poor and inoffensive postal agent (*dāk munshi*). This letter most probably shows the end of hostilities on the Balasore-Medinipur frontier. On the 24th Nawāb Mīr Qāsim 'Alī Khān was informed that Nanda Kumar had been imprisoned, as his treasonable correspondence with the Shāhzādah 'Alī Gauhar (afterwards the Emperor Shāh 'Alam II), Kāmgār Khān and Śivarām Bhaṭṭa had been discovered. On the same day the Nawāb was informed that nothing incriminating had been found among the papers of the old traitor Durlabhrām but that a certain Rājāram had decamped and fled to the Marathas.[2] On the 8th of March a letter was written to Śivarām upbraiding him for his excesses at

1 *Ibid., p. 64, Nos. 44-46.*

2 *Ibid., pp. 66-67, Nos. 956-57, 961-62.*



Ruined *rekha* temple at Chharrā
near Purulia, Manbhum

Medinipur and informing him that the Maratha *parganah* of Pataspur had not been spared. He was requested to direct his officers not to create any disturbances.[1] The earliest communication from the Mayurbhañja Rājā on record was received on the 15th of March in which he prayed that some officers may be sent to his State to transact business with him personally and asking for some favour to be shown to Motirām, perhaps his own agent. A reply was sent immediately, professing friendship and informing the Rājah that he should correspond direct with the governor as all other zamindars were doing. On the same date another letter was written to one Murat Nārāyaṇ Das advising him to remain on friendly terms with his neighbourhood and referring to the letter written on the same day to the Rājah of Mayurbhanj. The name of the Rājā of Mayurbhañja, to whom the letter was addressed, cannot be ascertained but most probably he was Dāmodar Bhañja, who ascended the throne in 1761. On the 17th another letter was written to Śivarām acknowledging receipt of his letter in which he stated that Khūsh-hāl Chand has been released.[2] In March 1761, one Muḥammad Sādiq was *Faujdār* of Balasore and a letter was written to him on the 22nd informing him that Mr. Bristow had been sent to Balasore to serve as the postal agent. The next day another letter was written to Rāgmānji Jāchak informing him that Śivarām "has a clean heart and no evil intentions" and requesting him to send a discreet person. The Governor informed him that he was also sending a confidential messenger to the former. The English Governor

[1] *Ibid., p. 73, No. 1001.*

[2] *Ibid., p. 76, Nos. 1020-22, 1024.*

attempted to flirt with Śivarām in a separate letter written to him on the same day.[1] Evidently the Maratha officers in the province of Orissa had become nervous on account of the presence of British troops on their northern frontier at Medinipur and Śivarām seems to have written to the Governor urging their recall. To this a reply was sent on the 26th of March informing Śivarām that a breach of peace would be likely if the removal of troops from Medinipur was persistently urged.[2] Rāgmānji Jāchak continued to play a difficult part and informed the British in a letter which was received on the 2nd April that the united efforts of the Company and his own self would soon terminate all disturbances.[3] Despairing of getting the *chauth* from the provinces of Bengal and Bihar the Marathas seemed to have demanded the *chauth* of Medinipur on account of its being a part of the *Subāh* of Orissa. On the 10th of the same month a letter was written to Śivarām in which he was informed that though Mīr Ja'afar gave up the *chauth* of Katak, whereby perhaps is meant that the *chauth* from Bengal was stopped, Medinipur had been independent of it for a long time and had been made over to the Company for the maintenance of troops. The Marathas should, therefore, give up all claims to *chauth* from the Bengal districts.[4] The British government in India has not yet considered it opportune to make the letters received from the Maratha officers public, as original letters do not appear in the calendars. Apparantly letters were received

1 *Ibid., p. 78, Nos. 1032-15.*

2 *Ibid., pp. 79-80, No. 1044.*

3 *Ibid., p. 83, No. 1068.*

4 *Ibid., p. 85, No. 1082.*

both from Jānujī Bhonsle and his officers in Orissa. On the 12th of April a letter was written to Nawāb Mir Qāsim 'Ali informing him that he had already been instructed about the reply which he was required to send to Jānuji Bhonsle. The Nawāb was informed that to evade payment on the plea of the runious state of the country might only protract negotiations. He was advised to grant the application of Muṣliḥ-ud-din Muḥammad Khān and Gaṅgā Nāik for an agreement so that the disturbances might come to an end and the tenants might remain in tranquility. A broad hint was dropped to the Nawāb in the statement that the Marathas were not strong enough to invade Bengal.[1] Muṣliḥ-ud-din Muḥammad had been sent by Jānujī as his representative but we do not know what his application to the Nawāb actually was. It appears that while advising the Nawāb to come to speedy agreement with the Marathas about *chauth*, he was secretly instructed to refuse payment. On the 21st April, Śivarām threatened to invade Bengal if *chauth* was not paid immediately. To this a reply was sent two days later informing him that the Nawāb Qāsim 'Ali had replied to Rāja Jānuji's letter direct and that *as he was no longer the chief of Katak* he had no business to demand *chauth* or to create disturbance in Medinipur.[2] A letter was now written to Rāgmānjī Jāchak, who appears to have been treacherous to his own people, because the English regarded him as being their friend, but Śivarām as their particular enemy. This letter is to the same effect as that of Sivarām Bhatta. We do not know what change had come over Śivarām Bhaṭṭa Sāṭhe

[1] *Ibid., p. 86, No. 1085.*

[2] *Ibid., pp, 88-89, Nos. 1099, 1109.*

and what position he now held after being removed from the chiefship of Katak. Puri temple records prove that Sivarām was the governor of Orissa till 1764,[1] and this statement is supported by Sardesai, who states that British agents created a suspicion in the weak mind of Jānuji Bhonsle against Śivarām, and the patriotic and loyal chief was deposed for his loyalty to the Bhonsle family and his very just wars against the English in Bengal.[2] The Rāja of Mayurbhanj was playing a deep and dubious game. He was corresponding direct with the Governor of the presidency of Fort William, as he was a zamindar of the Medinipur district in addition to being a ruling chief in the Orissa Garhjats. On the 24th a letter was written to the Rāja informing him that Mr. Johnstone of Medinipur had been directed to treat him in a friendly manner. Mr. John Bristow, chief of Balasore, was directed on the next day to charge 2½ per cent on all goods for which merchants applied to him for a passport of the English East India Company. On the 28th of April a letter was received from Nawab Mir Qāsim 'Ali Khān, in which the latter states that he will reply to Rāja Jānuji's letter on receipt of instructions from the Governor.[3] On the 30th of April 1761, two letters were received from the Rāi Rāyān, in the first of which he wrote to the Governor asking him to write to the chief of Medinipur directing the latter to be careful in the affairs of Jaleswar and to prevent different persons from taking possession of it. In the second letter the Rāy Rāyān requested the governor to release the *jagirs*

1 *Bengal District Gazetteer; Puri, p. 42.*
2 *Mārāthi Riyāsat, Madhya Bibhāg, Vol. IV, p. 308.*
3 *Ibid., p. 90, Nos. 1110, 1112-13, and 1115.*

of Rājā Makaranda Kiśor.[1] A strange letter was addressed to Śivarām on the 4th of May, stating that the Governor "received a letter on the cover of which was a large seal bearing the addressee's name. Believes that the letter was written without his orders and sends it back to him without opening it. Desires him to reprimand the *munshis* and to chastise severely those who wrote it. Has already informed him that the Nawab has answered Rājā Jānujī's letter concerning the *chauth*. Is surprised that notwithstanding this, the addressee continues to create disturbances. Tells him that his conduct is bound to bring upon him the Rājā's wrath." On the same date the Rāy Rāyān was informed that the *jāgirs* of Makaranda Kiśor were confiscated, because he created disturbances and opposed the Company's troops when they went to Medinipur.[2] Four days later, on the 8th of May another letter was addressed to Śivarām informing him that Mr. John Bristow was appointed to negotiate with him regarding a certain dispute, which is not specified.[3] On the 27th of the same month a letter was written to Rāgmānjī Jāchak informing him that Mr. John Bristow had been deputed to quell the disturbance in the country between Medinipur and Katak and requesting the former to co-operate with the latter. On the 28th a letter was received from the Nawāb Mīr Qāsim 'Alī enquiring whether the Marathas had invaded Burdwan. On the same day another letter was sent to one Rahmat Khān, which is a copy of that addressed to Rāgmānjī Jāchak on the previous day. On

1 *Ibid., p, 92, Nos. 1123-24.*

2 *Ibid., p, 93. Nos. 1134-35.*

3 *Ibid., p. 94, Nos. 1142.*

the same day another letter was written to Śivarām regarding his complaint about the arrest of four messengers (*qasīds*) sent with letters to Calcutta. The arrest was denied and Śivarām informed that Mr. Bristow had been sent to settle the dispute. On the 1st of June Nawāb Mīr Qāsim 'Alī was informed that the report about the Maratha invasion of Bengal was baseless and was spread by Śivarām. This letter also states that troops have been sent to oppose the Marathas.[1] On the 2nd Rāja Jānujī Bhonsle was informed that no reply had been received to the previous letter addressed to him and that a severe famine prevailed in Bengal. The Governor had received a visit from Muṣliḥ-uddīn Muḥammad Khān and hoped that his own envoys would receive favourable attention from the Maratha government. Another letter was issued on the same day to Śivarām concerning the *chauth* in which he was informed that the governor had written to Rāja Jānujī on the subject but no reply had been received and that the Nawāb had been requested to settle the matter shortly with Jānujī's people.[2] On the 24th of the same month the Rāy Rāyān was informed that Makaranda Kiśor's *jagirs* would be restored if the latter waited upon the Governor.[3] On the 12th of September of the same year the Governor sent a proposal to Nawāb Mīr Qāsim 'Alī Khān for an invasion of Maratha dominions in Katak and Orissa. It is stated that, though Śivarām had agreed to remain within his own jurisdiction, he cannot be trusted as he is likely to invade Bengal as soon as an opportunity

1 *Ibid., pp. 102-3, Nos. 1189-92, 1195.*

2 *Ibid., p. 110, Nos, 1245-46.*

3 *Ibid., p. 115, No. 1274.*

presents itself. Therefore, the English Governor thought that it was advisable to chastise Śivarām in such a way as to compel him to make a precipitate retreat. It was proposed at the same time that a *parganah* in Orissa might be assigned for the payment of the Company's troops who would collect the revenue from Orissa and deliver it to the Nawāb. This is the beginning of the nefarious proposal to invade Orissa in order to stifle the repeated Maratha demands for *chauth*. Just at that moment the English East India Company were strong enough to undertake an invasion of Orissa, as the same letter informs the Nawāb that there is a large number of troops in Calcutta and more are coming from Madras. The Bhonsles of Nagpur were certainly correct in demanding twelve lakhs of rupees as the *chauth* of Bengal and Bihar from the Musalman *ṣubahdār* of these two provinces according to the treaty of 1751. Mīr Qāsim 'Alī was as much in the shoes of 'Alīwardī Khān as the latter's grandson Sirāj-ud-daulah was. His refusal to pay the *chauth* and its countenance by the Governor of Fort William was as much moral and legal as the British refusal to pay the stipulated tribute of twenty-six lakhs to the Emperor Shāh 'Alam II after his departure from Allahahad to Delhi in 1771. The British proposals for the conquest of Orissa[1] were received with great nervouness by the Nawāb, who had already received a foretaste of the treatment he was to expect from his task-masters, tne English factors of the East India Company. The Nawāb procrastinated, entered into a long correspondence with the Governor of Fort William about the costs of the expedition and finally

[1] *Ibid., p. 122, No. 1324.*

agreed. He was informed on the 11th December that Major Karnac was to co-operate with Bū 'Ali Khān in driving Śivarām out of Orissa and on the same date another letter was written to Bū 'Ali Khān to march by way of Birbhum or Bishnupur with expedition.[1] On the 20th of the same month the Nawāb was requested to select a capable person for the Nāibship of Orissa, who was to accompany the Company's troops under Major Carnac.[2] On the 9th of January 1762 the Nawāb was informed that his letter forbidding the invasion of Katak had been received. Therefore at that time Mir Qāsim 'Ali Khān was not prepared to invade Orissa.[3] On the 16th of the same month another letter was written to the Nawāb enquiring about the proposed invasion of Orissa. The Governor attempted to excite the Nawāb by stating that the Marathas were now demanding *chauth* for three years and because the Nawāb was not paying the *chauth* it would be a good pretence for them to invade the country. It would be better if the Nawāb, on the other hand, entered Orissa and captured Katak, which was an integral part of his *subah*ship. Once Katak was in the occupation of the Nawāb, it would not be easy for the Marathas to make inroads into Bengal. The Governor then advises the Nawāb to pay no *chauth*, to dismiss the *wakils* from Nagpur in a civil manner and to invade Katak without delay. He adds that most probably Jānuji will not make any serious attempt to defend Orissa, but if he does so, English troops joined with the forces of the Nawāb will be

1 *Ibid., p. 136, Nos. 1394-95.*
2 *Ibid., p. 139, No. 1407.*
3 *Ibid., p. 140, No. 1418.*

able to repell the attack. English troops have been ready for some time to march to Katak. The letter ends with a request to the Nawāb to send 1,500 or 2,000 horse into Orissa and to select a Nāib Nāẓim.[1] A letter received from Śivarām on the 10th February "declares more emphatically than before that if the *chauth* is not forwarded, a body of troops will march into Bengal to enforce payment of it."[2] A reply was sent to this on the 16th acknowledging Śivarām's letter, demanding the restitution of the goods plundered and the revenue collected from the Maratha *parganahs* of Pataspur and Shāhbandar by British troops. The English Governor replied that the claims must be examined before any restitution was made. On the same date a letter was received from Nawāb Mīr Qāsim 'Alī stating that he was also conscious of the advantage that would be derived by driving out the Marathas from Katak, but he entered into details about the cost of the expedition.[3] We learn from a letter written on the 2nd of March that Mīr Qāsim 'Alī had actually ordered Saiyad Muḥammad Khān with 1,500 horse to accompany English troops and to assign one or two *parganahs* "as a gratuity to the English troops." The Governor of the English East India Company now replies that it was more for the *benefit of the Nawāb* that he wanted to conquer Orissa. Formerly the Nawāb thought the conquest of Orissa to be necessary and agreed to bear the costs of the expedition but now he thinks otherwise. If in future the Nawāb considers it necessary to drive the Marathas out of Orissa and if he applies to

1 *Ibid., pp. 141-42, No. 1425.*
2 *Ibid., p. 146, No. 1445.*
3 *Ibid., Nos. 1446-47.*

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the English for help, then the Company would certainly help him, but as Orissa has been separated from the *subah*ship for a long time and ceded to the Marathas, the Governor will look upon this as a new conquest and the Nawāb will have to pay all expenses of the expedition.[1] On the 19th of the same month the Nawāb enquired what would be the cost of the conquest of Orissa from the Marathas.[2] On the 1st of April a letter to Saiyad Muḥammad Khān contained the information that the idea of sending troops to Orissa had been deferred. The next day the Nawāb was informed that the cost of 1,000 cavalry and 2,000 *Tilangas* with 10 pieces of cannon would be Rs. 1,50,000 monthly and as the conquest of Orissa might take three or four months the total cost might amount to five or six lakhs of rupees.[3] On the 1st of May Nawāb Mīr Qāsim 'Alī disapproved of the expedition to Orissa. The dispute with the English East India Company and the quarrel with the notorious Mr. Ellis was getting hotter and the short but glorious reign of Mīr Qāsim 'Alī was drawing to a close.[4] Therefore the earliest proposal for a British invasion of Orissa was dropped.

Certain other letters digested in the calendar throw interesting sidelight on the condition of Orissa in 1761. On the 10th of October a letter was written to the Rājā of "Parsautam" (Purushottam or Puri) informing him of the loss of one of the Company's ships in his *zamindari* and that one Englishman with 100 men and 2 women reached

1 *Ibid., p. 150, No. 1463.*
2 *Ibid., p. 153, No. 1476,*
3 *Ibid., p. 154, Nos. 1481-82.*
Ibid., p. 160, No. 1509.

the shore and were now in the *chāklā* of Makhdum. The Rājā's manager was not permitting them to depart, this was very improper and the Rājā should direct his *Diwān* to do so immediately. On the same date another letter to the same effect was addressed to Śivarām with a request to supply them with necessaries and send them to Calcutta with a passport (*dastak*).[1] On the 18th of the same month a letter was written to Śivarām informing him that Dayārām who came with Mr. John Bristow to take possession of Pataspur and other Maratha *parganahs* and then to wait on Mr. Burdett, the chief of Medinipur, might be sent to receive the money due. This amount was apparently the reparation due on British ravages in Orissa. On the next day another letter was addressed to Raḥamat Khān, the *Faujdār* of Balasore, informing him that Dayārām and Ḥusain Beg came with John Bristow to Calcutta as *wakils* from Śivarām and that the Maratha claims had been settle-ed with him. On the 20th of the same month a letter was written to Ghulām Muṣṭafa, *Ḍāk Munshi*, that money had been provided to get the crew of the lost ship and send them to Calcutta. On the same date another letter was written to *Ḍāk Munshi* Abdus-Ṣūbhān, the brother of Ghulām Muṣṭafa and to Śivarām. A second letter to Ghulām Muṣṭafa states that the Governor has been informed that the ship-wrecked men have been taken to Katak.[2] On the 25th of January, 1762, a letter written to Sivarām states that Mr. John Bristow was dead and expresses satisfaction at the appointment of Daryā Khān as the the *Faujdār* of Balasore. In another letter of the same

1 *Ibid., pp. 126-27, Nos. 1343-44.*

2 *Ibid., pp. 128-29, Nos. 1350-57.*

date the *Ḍāk Munshī* Ghulām Muṣṭafā Khān is directed to maintain friendly relations with Daryā Khān.[1] Daryā Khān wrote to the Governor after his arrival at Balasore to send an English factor to Balasore and wrote for a *dastak* for *Bakshi* Rāo Mūdi, servant of Rājah Jānujī who had come to Calcutta and wanted to proceed to Murshidabad. On the 22nd of February the Governor wrote to Daryā Khān stating that it was needless to station an English factor at Balasore but that a *dastak* would be given to Bakhshi Rāo and that he would be despatched in a sloop.[2] On the 2nd of March Śivarām wrote expecting that some arrangement would be made with his agent Dayārām. To this a reply was sent on the 4th stating that a reply had been sent through Ghulām Muṣṭafa Munshi. Another letter to the same purport was written three days later.[3] In a letter written to Nawāb Mir Qāsim 'Ali on the 11th of the some month the Governor of the English East India Company informed the Nawāb that he had written to Rāja Jānuji to settle the question of *chauth* with the Nawāb[4] One Purushottama Chaudhuri wrote to the Governor informing him of his appointment as *Chaudhurī* of Orissa. In reply the Governor informed him that he had no concern with Orissa but the *chāklā* of Medinipur was separate and in possession of the Company and that Rāja Rāj Nārāyaṇ of Kāśijoṛā had been appointed *Chaudhurī* of the English possession.[5] On the 2nd of

1 *Ibid., p. 143, Nos. 1430-31.*

2 *Ibid., p. 147, No. 1451.*

3 *Ibid., pp. 150-51, Nos. 1462, 1464 and 1466.*

4 *Ibid., p. 152, No. 1470.*

5 *Ibid., p. 156, No. 1490.*

May of the same year we find that Bhāskar Paṇḍit had been appointed *Faujdār* of Balasore in the place of Rahmat Khān. Nothing further is heard of Daryā Khān. Bhāskar Pandit sent Ḥayāt Khān and Dayārām to the Governor of the English East India Company. The Governor actually expresses friendship towards Śivarām in this letter.[1] A letter written to Śivarām on the 15th of May discloses the fact that Bhāskar Paṇḍit was his younger brother. On the next day another letter was written to Bhāskar Paṇḍit complaining that one Chaitan Sutuār possessed some papers about the estate of the late Mr. John Bristow but refused to deliver them. The Governor sent one Rāmkānto for them, but as the latter was returning Chaitan lodged a complaint against him and got the latter imprisoned. The Governor sent two sepoys with a *dastak* to bring Rāmkānto back and hoped that the *Faujdār* would help him by directing his people to release Rāmkānto. One Govind Rāo wrote to the Governor expressing a desire to pay him a visit. The governor wrote to him on the same day sending a *dastak*.[2]

Matters approached a crisis towards the end of the month of May, 1762, when Śivarām sent a letter from Rāja Jānuji to be forwarded to the Nawāb Mīr Qāsim 'Alī Khān and in which Rāja Jānuji states that he has been ordered by the *Paṇḍit Pradhān* (the Peshwā Mādhav Rāo Ballāl 1761-72) to invade Bengal in consequence of the *chauth* from Bengal not being received.[3] Govind Rāo, to whom the Governor sent a *dastak* on the 16th :of May, was an

1 *Ibid., p. 161, No. 1516.*

2 *Ibid., pp. 162-63. Nos. 1523, 1526. and 1529.*

3 *Ibid., p. 164, Nos. 1535-6.*

envoy from Rāja Jānuji of Nagpur. On the 6th of July the Governor wrote to Nawāb Mir Qāsim 'Ali Khān stating that the Rāo had arrived with letters from Jānuji and had desired to have a letter of introduction to the Nawāb from him. The Governor had therefore given him a letter of introduction and now requested the Nawāb to reply what he thought fit.[1] On the 9th of the same month Śivarām was informed of the arrival of Govind Rāo in Calcutta.[2]

On the 7th of February, 1763, intimation was sent to the Nawāb Mir Qāsim 'Ali Khān of the attack on the port of Balasore by some French ships-of-war during which nine sloops were captured. This is one of the last communications received by that unfortunate prince about the affairs of the port of Balasore. On the 3rd of June, 1763, Rāja Sitārām Rāj of Vizianagram wrote to Col. Clive stating that he had defeated Śivarām and Rāja Nārāyaṇ Dev. He was waiting on the frontier of Orissa for English help and promised to send tribute.[3]

When the Hindus and Musalmans of Bengal were expiating for the sins of Nanda Kumār Ray, Durlabhrām Ray and Mir Ja'afar 'Ali Khān, committed on the field of Plassey (23rd June 1757), and by other Indians on the fields of Katwa, Udhuanala and Munger, British diplomacy and perhaps British gold kept the Bhonsles of Berar from joining hands with Mir Qāsim 'Ali Khān. A letter from Śivarām Bhaṭṭa received on the 10th of Septembar, 1763, expresses a desire to join the English East India Company

1 *Ibid., p. 167, No. 1561.*
2 *Ibid., p. 168, Nos. 1561.*
3 *Ibid., p. 222, No. 1793.*

in the new war and surprise at the fact that the Governor had not informed him of the victory of Katwa. This was the position on the political stage of north-eastern India when the brave Muḥammad Taqī Khān laid down his life for the cause of Musalman independence in India on the battle field of Katwa. The *Dāk Munshis* in Orissa served to some extent as political spies and agents. On the 13th of September the *Dāk Munshi* Ghulām Muṣṭafa was written to and directed to warn the Marathas to abstain from all acts of hostility and to inform Śivarām Bhaṭṭa that the friendship subsisting between the English and the Marathas would be broken off if his people made any disturbances. Orissa was threatened with an invasion by the new Madras army. A politic letter written to Sivarām Bhaṭṭa on the same day informed him of the glorious English victory of Giriyā or Gaṛhiyā, Udhuānālā, Kāṭwā, Murshidābād and Suri (Śiuṛi). The latter was requested to capture Mīr Qāsim 'Alī, if he came that way.[1] The Marathas of Berar and Nagpur failed to take advantage of the great opportunity of joining hands with Mīr Qāsim 'Alī in this war also, as they had done in 1757. They paid very dearly for it at Assaye and Argaon in 1803, at Sitabaldi in 1817, and finally during the regime of Lord Dalhousie. Nawāb Qāsim 'Alī Khān tried his best to secure the alliance of the Marathas. On the 22nd of November, 1763, Ghulām Muṣṭafa informed the Governor that Śivarām Bhaṭṭa had received several letters from Mīr Qāsim 'Alī promising the *chauth* of Bengal and appointing him *Faujdār* of Jaleswar and Medinipur. In consequence thereof Bhāskar

Ibid., pp. 238-39, Nos. 1868, 1874-75.

Pandit and Būlī Khān started from Balasore but were dissuaded from doing so by the writer. Thus did the Indian Musalman serve his own community in the middle of the eighteenth century A. D.[1] Another letter written by the same worthy informed the Governor that Śivarām Bhaṭṭa was prevented from marching on Jaleswar by his quarrel with Rāja Vīra Kiśora Deva I and that Maratha troops in Balasore were now busy against the hill Rajas. A letter from Śivarām Bhaṭṭa, received on the same date, 25th November 1763, offers congratulations on the victories and demands *chauth*.[2] Another letter from the same person received on the 5th January 1764, states that he would have joined the English troops if the Governor had not informed him that his help was not required. In the same letter it is stated that Rāo Govind was being sent to decide the affairs of Mayurbhañja and Keuñjhar. On the 6th of June, Rāo Govind informed the Governor that he had been deputed to regulate the affairs of these two States.[3] A letter received from Śivarām Bhaṭṭa on the next day reiterates the demand for *chauth* but a reply was sent on the next day containing a request to send Govind Rāy Rāo to Calcutta for some necessary business. Śivarām Bhaṭṭa informed the Governor that Govind Rāo was his own brother.[4] On the 5th of February a letter was received from Mīr Ja'afar 'Alī Khān that he was coming to Calcutta and desired that Govind Rāo should meet him at that place. A similar letter was also written to

1 *Ibid., p. 153, No. 1948.*

2 *Ibid., p. 254, Nos. 1951-52.*

3 *Ibid., p. 271, Nos. 1909-10.*

4 *Ibid., p. 272, Nos. 2012-13.*

Govind Rāo.[1] On the 21st of February a complaint was received from the Rājā of Mayurbhañja regarding disturbances committed by several people in his territory and stating that he was obliged to use force to drive them out. Three days later, a letter from Nawāb Mīr Ja'afar 'Alī was forwarded to Śivarām Bhaṭṭa.[2] On the 26th of the same month Śivarām was informed that Messrs. Marriott, Hope and More had been appointed to reside at Katak, Mālud, and Balasore. On the same day Bhāskar Pandit, the *Faujdār* of Balasore, was informed that Mr. Marriott had been posted at Balasore to forward letters to and from Madras.[3] A letter received from Śivarām on the 1st April 1764 states that the affair of Sarnudpur (?) had been settled and Orissa granted to Mahārāja Jānūjī. A demand for *chauth* was also made in the same letter.[4] The period of administration of Śivarām Bhaṭṭa was drawing to a close. A letter received on the 21st of April from Chimnā Sāhu informed the Governor that the former had been appointed *Sūbahdār* of Orissa. A letter addressed to Nawab Mīr Ja'afar 'Ali states that his etter to ,Śivarām Bhaṭṭa was forwarded through an English gentleman stationed in Katak and encloses the reply of Śivarām. Three days later on the 24th, the usual congratulatory letter was despatched to the new Maratha *ṣubahdār* Chimnā Sāhu.[5] The Governor of the English East India Company writes to the Nawāb Mīr Ja'afar 'Alī

[1] *Ibid., p. 281, Nos. 2048-49.*
[2] *Ibid., p. 284, Nos. 2072-73.*
[3] *Ibid., p. 286, Nos. 2079-80.*
[4] *Ibid., p. 295, No. 2140.*
[5] *Ibid., p. 301, Nos. 2172, 2175-76.*

on the 24th April, 1764, that Śivarām Bhaṭṭa had been imprisoned and that his friends were trying to rescue him. The Nawāb was assured that as the Marathas in Orissa were fighting between themselves they would have no time to interfere in the affairs of Bengal.[1] A letter received from Chimnā Sāhu confirms the news of the imprisonment of Śivaram Bhaṭṭa.[2] Śivarām Bhaṭṭa came to Orissa after its devastation for twelve years by the Mughal-Maratha wars. He found the province desolated and the boundaries roughly demarcated. He left it much more settled. His settlement of the revenues of Orissa was for a sum very much less in comparison with the last settlement of Shuja'-ud-dīn Muḥammad Khān :—

Gold *Muhars*	231		
Rupees of different sorts	3,82,829	8	0
Cowries...Kahans	27,82,446	1	0[3]

This is the figure for the *Āmlī* year 1167-1760 A. D. Śivarām Bhaṭṭa Sāthe is described by Stirling as the most energetic of the Maratha *sūbahdārs* of Orissa. He is said to have settled the revenues of the province nominally at 18,000,00 of Arcot rupees, out of which 14,00,000 were regular land revenue (*Bandobasti mulk*). The help which he gave to Vira Kiśora Deva I cost the latter the whole of his possessions between the river Dayā, the Chilka lake and the sea with the tribute of fourteen of the Garhjat Rājās to settle the demands of his allies. The violent expulsion of Śivarām Bhaṭṭa in *Āmli* 1171 is recorded by Stirling, who states that Śivarām was expelled from the government by

1 *Ibid., p. 302 No. 2178.*
2 *Ibid., p. 306, No. 2201.*
3 *Asiatick Researches Vol. XV, pp. 216-17.*

a powerful faction countenanced by the Court of Nagpur. Chimnāji Sāhu and Udepurī Gosāin exercised the powers of government for some time until Bhavānī Kāluā Pandit arrived in the province with a *sanad* from the Court of Nagpur. Śivarām Bhaṭṭa formed a powerful party in the north-eastern Garhjats and for a length of time disturbed the administration of his successors. During the subsequent contest a number of districts were devastated.[1] J. Motte, who was sent by Clive to investigate about the diamond mines of Sambalpur in 1766, states that on October 19th he found the new *ṣūbahdār* Bhavānī Pandit encamped on the other side of the Mahānadī, having taken the field against Śivarām.[2] On the 2nd May 1764 the Governor of the East India Company in Bengal was informed by Chimnāji Sāhu that Śivarām Bhaṭṭa was a prisoner and his partizans, like Mukunda Pandit, had been defeated and that orders might be sent to the English officers at Balasore and Medinipur to prevent their coming that way. Therefore, on that date the Governor informed him that orders had been sent to Jaleswar and Medinipur regarding Mukunda Pandit and his friends and he was informed that the Nawāb's visit to Calcutta had been delayed by the invasion of Bihar by Mīr Qāsim 'Alī Khān and his allies.[3]

Affairs took a new turn in the month of July of the same year when Chimnā Sāhu informed the Governor on the 4th of the approach of some troops from Nagpur. The same information was also received from Rāgmānjī Jāchak, and Rāy Govind. Chimnāji Sāhu was informed on the 8th

1 *Ibid., p. 302.*

2 *Asiatic Annual Register 1799, p. 82 (Miscellaneous tracts.)*

3 *Calender of Persian correspondence, Vol. I, p. 306.*

that Śivarām Bhaṭṭa having procured a *farmān* from the emperor Shāh 'Alam II for Jānuji Bhonsle, the latter had sent 5,000 troops to Katak and if the English required any assistance a part of these troops might be sent to them.[1] On the 21st of the same month the Governor was informed by Chimnāji Sāhu that the troops had been sent from Nagpur to enforce the payment of *chauth* from Bengal.[2] A copy of the letter was sent to Nawāb Mīr Ja'afar 'Alī and the latter asked about his intentions.[3] The first communication from Bhavānī Kāluā Pandit was received by the Governor at Calcutta on the 31st July, 1764, and a copy of it immediately forwarded to the Nawāb Mīr Ja'afar 'Alī. Bhavānī Pandit informs the Governor that he intends to march to Balasore. He was informed on the same day that the Nawāb would shortly come to Calcutta and then it would be possible to state what decision had been arrived at regarding the payment of the *chauth*.[4] On the 18th August the Nawāb Mīr Ja'afar 'Alī informed the governor that Raghunāth Pandit had come to demand *chauth* and was journeying to Calcutta with him. He was informed on the 22nd that the Maratha business would be settled after his arrival in Calcutta.[5] On the 24th of September Rājā Jānuji Bhonsle wrote to the Governor praising the valour and honesty of the English and stating that Mīr Qāsim 'Alī wrote to him several times requesting assistance and sent a person of distinction to him with

1 *Ibid., p. 323, Nos. 2322 A -24, 2326.*
2 *Ibid., p, 325, No. 2340.*
3 *Ibid., p. 326, No. 2347.*
4 *Ibid., pp. 329-30, Nos. 23,59,2361-3.*
5 *Ibid., p. 332 Nos. 384-386.*

promises of money but that he could not enter into any alliance with such a perfidious person. Raghunāth Pandit had been sent to the Governor and the Rājā hoped that all balance due on account of *chauth* would now be paid up. Two letters received from the Marathas in Orissa disclose the fact that Chimnājī Sāhu was still the *ṣūbahdār* of the province of Orissa and Bhavānī Pandit was the *dīwān* of Katak. In a letter received on the 5th October Bhavānī Pandit says that Rājā Jānuji has written to him stating that negotiations regarding *chauth* do not come to any conclusion and therefore he has received orders to march to Bengal, settle matters with the advice of the Governor and the Nawāb and drive out the enemy (the Emperor Shāh 'Alam and his *wazīr* Shuja'-ud-daulah). Bhavānī Pandit also states that he has received an invitation from the Nawāb Mīr Ja'afar 'Alī Khān and Rājā Durlabhrām Rāy and therefore he was marching with his troops. He has sent to Calcutta an ambassador named Amin-uddin 'Alī.[1] A similar letter was received from Chimnājī Sāhu, the *ṣūbahdār* of Katak on the 12th and on the same day another letter arrived from Bhavāni Pandit stating that he had just heard from the Nawāb and Rāja Durlabhrām that the former would shortly arrive in Calcutta and then send money to Nagpur and to him for his expenses. Now that the Nawāb is in Calcutta he hopes that the settlement of the question of *chauth* will be expedited. A reply sent to him on the same day states that Raghunāth Pandit has arrived with letters from Rāja Jānuji for the Nawāb and the Governor and that it is not necessary for Bhavānī Pandit to come to Bengal. Another

1 *Ibid., pp. 343-44. Nos. 2425, 2429.*

letter written to Jānujī informs him that the country being in ruinous condition on account of devastating wars the question of *chauth* must be deferred for the present.[1] Bhavānī Pandit and Chimnā Sāhu were informed on the 14th of October that the question of *chauth* would be settled as soon as posible and referred them to the letters from the Nawāb and Raghunāth Pandit for further particulars.[2]

Inspite of that rebuff Bhavānī Pandit writes again on the 9th November that he has incurred heavy expenses on account of his being detained by the rains and he has kept the troops quiet with very great difficulty. He will depart on the 2nd of October but is awaiting the Governor's reply and hopes that the latter will assist him in realising the *chauth*. A reply sent on the same day informs Bhavānī Pandit of the great English victory at Baksar.[3] Bhavānī Pandit's congratulations on the victory were received on the 24th November and in this letter the latter informs the Governor that the zamindars of Betagarah and Rāmpur have been reduced to submission and the latter was now marching against the rebellious zamindars of Hariharpur and other places. This letter is dated the 16th November and was received in Calcutta within eight days, showing the regularity of the English postal service between Madras and Calcutta. Another letter from the same person received on the 2nd December throws interesting light on the history of the internal administration of Orissa during the Maratha rule. Bhavānī Pandit says that at the time

1 *Ibid., p. 345, Nos. 2431,2433,2435.*

2 *Ibid., p. 346, Nos. 2436-17.*

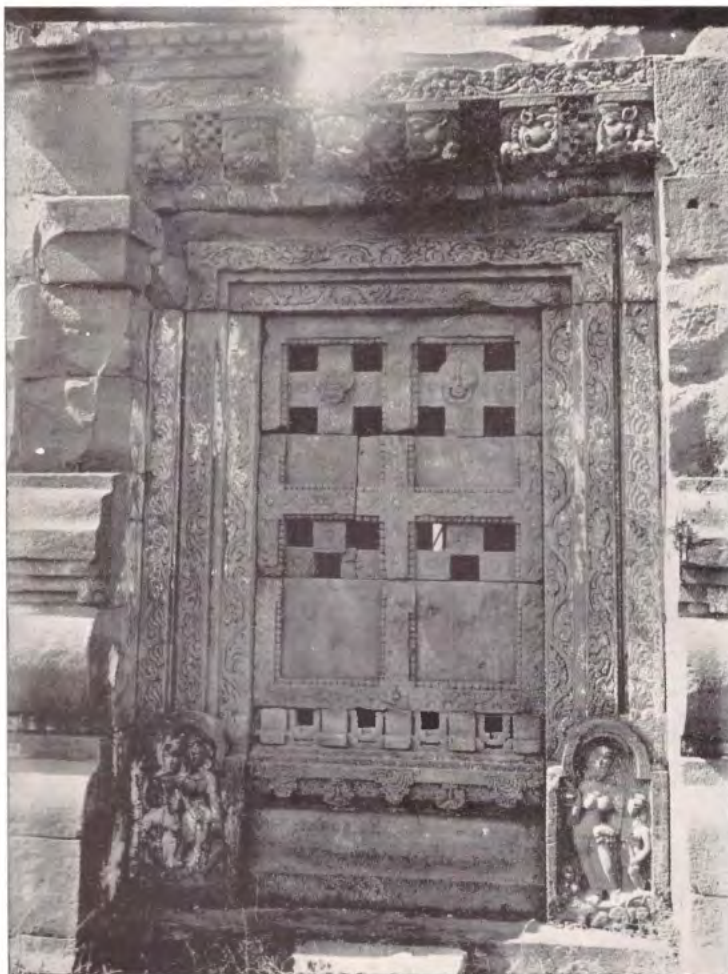
3 *Ibid., p. 350 Nos. 2452-53.*

of Śivarām Bhaṭṭa's dismissal the zamindar of Dhenkanal murdered the Maratha general Buli Khān, who was an adopted son of Śivarām Bhaṭṭa. He naw intends to camp in the vicinity of Dhenkanal in order to punish that chief. The same letter informs the Governor that during the rebellion of Śivarām Bhaṭṭa the chiefs of Mayurbhañja and Nilgiri entered into conspiracy with Śivarām Bhaṭṭa's younger brother Bhāskar Pandit and plundered the districts around Balasore. Bhāskar Pandit, the former *Faujdār* of Balasore, was greatly in arrears but he fled with these Rājas and was still in Nilgiri. Bhavānī Pandit now intends to chastise these two chiefs also.[1] A letter written by Bhavānī Pandit to Mr. Vansittart was received by the acting Governor Mr. John Spencer on the 15th of December and in this communication it is stated that the Maratha army will not proceed any further. It is the intention of Bhavānī Pandit to punish the Rājas of Haṛiharpur and Nilgiri. The frontiers of Hariharpur or Mayurbañja adjoin those of Jaleswar and it is more probable that false representations have been made to the Governor regarding the depredations made by Maratha subjects in British territory. On the 16th of December a letter was addressed to Bhavānī Pandit requesting him to issue strict orders to prevent stragglers from entering British territory. On the next day another letter was issued to Nawāb Mīr Ja'afar 'Ali Khān to send 1,000 of his horse to Birbhum in order to co-operate with the English troops in Medinipur and Burdwan to act against the Marathas who were massed on

1 *Ibid. pp. 160-61, Nos. 2481-84.*

the frontier.[1] On December 18th another letter was addressed to Bhavānī Pandit cautioning him against the tresspass of his troops into British territory.[2] A letter received from Bhavānī on the 27th of the same month contained an assurance to the effect that he had come to these parts to chastise rebellious zamindars and not to make war upon the English. Bhavānī Pandit had heard that the *Muṭaṣaddis* of the Nawāb had come to an agreement regarding *chauth* with the Maratha envoy Raghunāth Pandit. Another letter received two days later repeated the assurance.[3] A long letter received on the 23rd of December discloses the fact that the Nawāb Mīr Ja'afar'Alī and his *Dīwān* Rāja Durlabhrām promised to pay the *chauth* by bills to Jānuji and in addition to pay a certain amount to Bhavānī Pandit for his own expenses. In this letter the latter castigates the Christians severely for their breaches of promise. Similar castigations are to be found in many of the letters of Jānujī written in later times.[4] Mīr Ja'afar'Alī went to render an account of his misdeeds to his creator in February, 1765, and the correspondence grows less interesting and voluminous. A letter was received from Bhavānī Pandit on the 23rd of June in which the latter professed friendship and sent a letter from Muḥammad Yār Khān, a confederate of Mīrza Muḥammad Ṣaliḥ, of the Army of Mulhār Rāo Hoḷkar, regarding a joint attack on Bengal.[5] Raghunāth Pandit stayed in Calcutta and

1 *Ibid., pp. 362-3, Nos. 2494, 2497-98.*
2 *Ibid., p. 364, No. 2499.*
3 *Ibid., p. 367, Nos. 2513-15.*
4 *Ibid., p. 366, No. 2508.*
5 *Ibid., pp. 414-5, Nos. 2665-66*



Stone Window of the Great Temple of
Mundeśvari, District Arrah

Murshidabad for nearly two years without obtaining any result of his mission and Mahārāja Jānujī sent a strongly worded remonstrance to him which was received on the 24th December, 1765. He accuses the English of base ingratitude and infidelity but no reply appears to have been sent. Some letter was issued to Rājā Jānujī on the 3rd January, 1767, but which had no reference to the demand for the settlement of *chauth*.[1]

When Clive became the Governor of Bengal for the second time he sent an agent, named T. Motte, to enquire and, if possible, to establish a factory at Sambalpur for the purchase of diamonds. The singular narrative of Mr. Motte is preserved in the *Asiatic Annual Register* and contains a very reliable account of the condition of Orissa fifteen years after the cession of that province to the Marathas. In the middle of March, 1766, the Rājā of Sambalpur sent one of his servants to Calcutta inviting the Governor of the English East India Company to send a trusted person to purchase diamonds at Sambalpur. The Rājā had purchased a horse from a Pathan merchant and being unable to pay for it in cash had sent a rough uncut diamond for sale to Calcutta and for payment of the price of the horse. The servant made a present of the diamond to Lord Clive but the price of the horse remained unpaid. The Pathan merchant raised a commotion, which drew Clive's attention to the matter. Clive sent Motte to Sambalpur after promising him a third share in the profit of the enterprise. Motte started from Calcutta on the 13th March and reached Jaleswar on the 23rd. We learn from his narrative that the Englishmen introduced into

1 *Ibid., p. 462, No. 2795.*

Orissa as postal agents at Balasore, Katak and Malud had come to be designated Residents. He crossed the Subarṇarekhā on the 25th and entered Mayurbhañja territory. He passed Amardah fort and reached the first Maratha outpost at Bastah, an old Mughal *Thāna.* He passed by Garhpadā which had been fortified by Aṣadullah Khān, an officer in Mayurbhañja service, and states that the fortifications had been dismantled by the Marathas with the exception of the inner fort where Aṣadullah's son, Badia'-uz-zamān, now lived. Regarding the condition of Mayurbhañja, Motte states that the old king, Dāśarathī Bhañja, had been dispossessed by his nephew Dāmodar Bhañja and had retired into Nilgiri. He was joined by the chief of Mayurbhañja troops, Jahān Maḥmūd, and went with him to the Marathas. They tried to enlist the sympathy of Bhavānī Pandit by promising to discover buried treasure and came back with a contingent of Maratha troops. Dāmodar Bhañja had to retire to Bamanghati (mis-spelt Bommimgaulee) among the hills and left Dāśarathī and his Maratha allies in possession of his capital Hariharpur. Jahān Maḥmūd captured the forts at Mangovindapur, Māntri and Bindah. Subsequently Dāmodar Bhañja came to be acknowledged as the Rājā of Bamanghati or Mayurbhañja.

Motte describes Balasore, the English factory and the French factory. He states that at the time of his visit the port of Balasore was denuded of Maratha troops as the commandant Pilāji had gone to Mayurbhañja to collect tribute. According to his descriptions the State of Mayurbhañja extended as far as the Bay of Bengal. Mr. Wills wrongly describes Dāmodar Bhañja as a convert to

Islam. There is no proof of any of the Mayurbhañja chiefs having embraced Islam.[1] Motte left Balasore on the 27th of April and entered Nilgiri, the Rājā of which paid the Marathas Rs. 30,000 annually as tribute, though his State was very small. He describes Soro as a considerable town and that there was a handsome stone bridge at that place. Soro was a Maratha outpost in the Nilgiri State where they kept 100 horse and 300 foot. Motte left Soro early on the 29th and crossed the Kānsābāsā river by a stone bridge 360 feet long built by Shuja'ud-din Muḥammad Khān, when Na'ib Nāẓim of Bengal. By this bridge he came into the *Mughalbandī* of Orissa in the jurisdiction of the *parganah* of Bhadrak. He crossed the river Sālandi on the 1st of May and before that he describes the lake of *Rāṇī-kā-talāv* said to have been excavated by a *rāṇī* of Burdwan. On the 2nd of May he reached Dāmnagar, where lived Farrukh Ḥusain, whose ancestors obtained this part of the country from the Afghan rulers of Orissa. He passed several rivers and crossed the Vaitaraṇī to reach Jājpur which was Persianized by all old writers into Jahāzpur. At Jājpur he describes the ruins of the palace and the *musjid* built by Muḥammad Taqī Khān, the Na'ib Nāẓim of Orissa, in the time of the son of Shuja'ud-din Muḥammad Khān. The *musjid* was built on the river. Motte goes on to state that Muḥammad Taqī preferred Jājpur to Katak. On the 3rd he crossed the Brāhmaṇī and entered the zamindari of Aurungābād in which was situated the celebrated Buddhist ruins of Udayagiri and Ratnagiri. He described the country between the Brāhmaṇī and the Gainti as the

1 C. U. Wills, I. C. S., *British Relations with the Nagpur State in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 38.

most fertile part of Orissa, inhabited by a large number of weavers. Jājpur was the seat of a Maratha *Faujdārī* which had become hereditary, as Jagu Pandit had succeeded in securing the post for his own son-in-law, Inkoji. The latter came to see Motte and told him what is very often quoted by modern writers about Raghuji I and Jānuji: "Śiva Bhaṭṭa supported the national troops with the plunder of foreign countries; Bhavānī Pandit with the plunder of his own." Motte passed through the fertile countries in the valley of Udayagiri and described the old fort of Aurangābād. He saw Katak from the left bank of the Mahānadī and describes the situation of that city. He describes the old Mughal fort of Bārabāṭi, which has now almost entirely disappeared. One Mr. Charles Alleyn[1] was the English postmaster at Katak at the time of his visit and Motte states that Alleyn regarded Mahārājah Jānuji's demands for *chauth* as just and honest. Motte carefully launched Clive's proposal to purchase Orissa for the English East India Company. The situation was favourable to the English, as the Peshwa Mādhav Rao I was determined to crush Jānuji, and Bhavānī Pandit agreed to support the proposal. Motte left Katak on the 10th and after crossing the Kāṭjuṛī entered the road to the Barmul pass along the old pilgrim road to Sambalpur. He entered the Banki State, the Oriyā chief of which—named Śrī Chandana—was at that time a prisoner at Katak. On the 13th he reached the State of Tigiria, the Rājā of which was Champat Singh. In his account of the 13th of May, Motte corroborates Śivarām Bhaṭṭa's letter to the Governor of the English

1 *Perhaps Allen.*

East India Company at Fort William about his devastation of the States of Dhenkanal and Baramba. Motte had now entered into the hilly country and reached Khandapara on the 14th of May. He had to stop here for two days in order to purchase necessaries for his servants before entering the deeper jungle. He describes Kullu as a large village where the merchants of Central India bring cotton and other goods on bullocks and carry back salt from the Chilka. He says that very little money is used by traders and trade is carried on entirely by barter. Opposite Kullu is the State of Narsinghpur, which is bounded on the north by the States of Talcher and Hindol, and which is famous for bamboos used in making poles for *palkis*.

Motte entered the Daspalla State, twelve miles from Kullu, the Rājā of which collected a tax from travellers for passing through the Barmul pass. He obtained 20 men as guides and escorts from the Rājā of Daspalla, who paid scant attention to the pass or *Dastak* given to Motte by Bhavāni Pandit. There was a fort in the Barmul pass where Motte halted for a day and left the place on the 19th. Barmul pass was 600 yards from the fort and a mile in length. It was too narrow to be passable for wheeled carriages. Emerging from Barmul, the descent was nine and a half miles in length and led to the State of Baudh. When Raghujī Bhonsle I entered Orissa at the instigation of Mir Ḥabīb, he found the Garhjat States tributary to the Rājā of Khurdah. Raghujī made the chiefs of Dhenkanal, Banki, Narsinghpur, Tigiria, Talcher, Khandapara, Daspalla, Hindol, Angul and Baudh independent of the Khurdah Rājā. After the death of Raghujī Bhonsle I

the tribute from the hill Rājās was not regularly paid and had to be enforced by a contingent of troops.

Motte left Kusumgarh on the 21st of May and came to the banks of the Mahānadi. He reached Baudh on the next day, where he was overtaken by letters of Bhavānī Pandit in which he was informed of the chatisement of Mahārāja Jānujī Bhonsle at the hands of the Peshwa Mādhav Rāo I for having joined hands with Nizām 'Ali of Haidarabad. Bhavāni wrote that for the present Jānuji must give up all thoughts of an alliance with the English, and Motte gave up his original idea of going to Nagpur. On the 26th he passed from Baudh into Rairakhol, which he calls Landacole, but on the way his passage was opposed by the *Qila'dar* of Coogul, but Motte managed to frighten him and entered Sambalpur. At that time Sambalpur was in great confusion, because the Rājā Ajit Singh died in the beginning of May and the commander of the troops Akbar Khān was at open feud with his son Abhay Singh and his *Dīwān* Kishan Bar Mullick. The town became a scene of confusion and riot and on the 17th June Akbar captured the Rājā and put all adherents of the *Dīwān* to the sword. During this massacre two Germans employed in the artillery were killed but two Frenchmen of the same company escaped to Motte's camp. Motte went to the diamond mines with Akbar's son-in-law as his guide. His European companion and servant died and he returned to Orissa. On the way he passed through Sonpur (called Jonepoor by mistake). He distinctly mentions the chief as a dependant of Jānujī. His account of the 8th October shows that the chief of Baudh used to pay the regular tribute for the worship of Jagannātha even

in 1766. He reached Katak on the 19th and found Bhavāni encamped three miles on the other side of the Mahānadi and on the point of proceeding against Śivarām Bhaṭṭa. He returned to Balasore on the 28th and states: "the opening of the diamond trade was prevented by the indolence of the inhabitants, and by their wretched dependence on the Mahrattas. The alliance with Jannoojei was obstructed by the very critical situation of his affairs and by the distracted state of his family. The very severe illness Lord Clive laboured under prevented him from pursuing the plan for the cession of Orissa, though he entered on it with great alacrity."[1]

The affairs of Orissa now degenerate into an acrimonious correspondence, devoid of sincerity on both sides. The English East India Company was determined not to make an open avowal of their refusal to pay the *chauth*. Jānuji and his descendants were too weak to attack the English and enforce their demands and, therefore, had recourse alternately to cajolery and threat. On the 14th of February a letter was written to Bhavānī Pandit in which it is stated that the Governor was glad to hear of the defeat of Śivarām Bhaṭṭa, Shyāmjī and other rebellious zamindars.[2] A letter received on the 17th February by Nabakṛishna De, the notorious Nobkishen of Anglo-Indian history, one of the Bengali banians, from Mīr Zain-ul-Abīdīn, states that the latter was captured by many Rājās and reached Ramtek near Nagpur on the 28th December (1766). A letter written by Jānujī to Clive

1 *Asiatic Annual Register, 1799, Miscellaneous tracts, pp. 48-84.*

2 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, 1767-69, Calcutta, 1914, p. 21, No. 63.*

arrived on the same day in which the latter upbraids the English for their perfidy and states that on the strength of the assurance of the English he borrowed twenty lakhs of rupees from the merchants and bankers of Nagpur but is unable to repay it. The long letter is full of cajolery and threat.[1] Udepurī Gosāin, the *Wakīl*, wrote to the Governer expressing his desire to come to Calcutta. He was informed on the 23rd of February that there were important questions to be settled and he should come to Calcutta immediately. A letter received from the same person informs the Governor that the former was waiting at Katak for Zain-ul-'Abīdīn according to the instructions of Lord Clive. A general circular order was issued to all officers in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on the 24th February intimating that Captain Carter had been appointed to survey the country and requiring them to help him in every way.[2] A letter received from Bhavānī Pandit on the 27th of the same month informs us of the flight of Śivārām Bhaṭṭa towards Calcutta and the destruction of Shyāmjī with the forts of "Shujiny" and "Rinetu."[3] Another letter received from Udepurī Gosāin informed the Governor that Zain-ul-'Abīdīn had left Nagpur with dispatches from Rājā Jānujī and would in a short time arrive at Calculta.[4] A long report was sent by Mīr Zain-ul-'Abīdīn Khān to Muḥammad Riza Khān, Na'ib Nāẓim of Murshidabad, and Lord Clive about his mission to Rājā Jānujī. He obtained an audience of Rājā Jānujī on the 26th December and

1 *Ibid., p. 25, No. 77.*

2 *Ibid., pp. 28-29, Nos. 94-95, 104.*

3 *Ibid., p. 36, No. 120.*

4 *Ibid., p. 40, No. 141.*



Temple of Nīlamādhava
(Separate front View) Gandharadi
Baudh State

gave the presents brought with him from Calcutta. Jānuji demanded forty-eight lakhs of rupees in lieu of *chauth* but did not express any opinion regarding the cession of Orissa. The royal letter was given to him in a sealed cover and the Mīr obtained final permission to depart on the 27th January, 1767.[1] On the 9th of April a letter was received from Udepurī Gosāin that he had reached Jaleswar and sent his *Munshī* in advance to Calcutta.[2] A letter was written to Bhavānī Pandit on the 26th of April complaining about the conduct of zamindars in Maratha territory towards one Mr. Marriott who had been deputed to purchase salt.[3] A copy of this letter was sent to the Rājā of Kanika and on the 27th April Muḥammad Riza Khān informed the Governor that Zain-ul-'Abidīn had reached Murshidabad with letters from Jānujī and had been detained at that place, as the Governor was travelling upcountry.[4] On the 1st of May 1767 another long letter, received from Rājā Jānujī, states that he had placed implicit faith in the ambassadors appointed by him and the English East India Company. Poor Jānujī was deluded into the belief that he had succeeded in entering into an offensive and defensive alliance with the English. So he again demanded *chauth* and stated in the conclusion that the question of cession of Orissa was left to the ambassadors. A similar letter was received on the 10th from Divākar Pandit repeating Jānujī's demand for money.[5] This demand from Jānujī was met by further diplomacy.

1 *Ibid., p. 62, No. 221.*
2 *Ibid., p. 85, No. 287.*
Ibid., p. 99. No. 352.
Ibid., pp. 100-101, Nos. 353-59.
5 *Ibid., pp. 108-109, Nos. 381-90.*

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A reply sent to Jānujī informed him that at a conference held at Murshidabad every point was thoroughly discussed before the Nawāb Saif-ud-daulah and Muḥammad Riza Khān. "With regard to the money affair, tell the Rajā to let his heart rest perfectly at ease, and to consider the English Sirdars as security for the due payment of the stipulated sums."[1] A reminder was received from Rājā Jānujī on the 24th of August, 1767.[2] The perfidy of Englishmen in India in the 18th century is now well-known. Lulled into security by the repeated promises of the Englishmen Jānujī waited for eight years and when, exasperated beyond all limits of endurance, he and Raghunāth Rāo Dāda Ṣāḥib wrote strongly to the English East India Company, a letter was sent to Udepurī Gosāīn in such a tone of injured innocence as proved the writer to be a master of the gentle art of statecraft.[3] Udepurī replied protesting his own innocence. Interesting bits of information come out of this letter. Udepurī Gosāīn was not permitted to return to Nagpur to bring the negotiations to a close. The Governor of the English East India Company and their tool, the Nawāb Nāẓim Saif-ud-daulah, did not ratify the treaty which Jānujī fondly hoped he had entered into with them, and finally the poor man prayed to be supplied with copies of letters from Raghunāth Rāo Dādā Ṣāḥib and Rājā Jānujī Bhonsle. Another strong letter was addressed to this ambassador asking him to supply information, which did not lie in his power. The English offered the Maratha

1 *Ibid., p. 120, No. 418.*

2 *Ibid., p. 144, No. 541.*

3 *Ibid., p. 146, No. 558.*

envoy and his chief, friendship, harmony and "concord from his inmost soul" but no money, not a single rupee of the crores which had accumulated.[1] A letter from Udepurī Gosāin informed the Governor that affairs will not be settled till he went to Nagpur.[2] On the 13th of December, 1767, Udepurī Gosāin and Mīr Zain-ul-'Ābidīn Khān were directed to come to Calcutta immediately. Another long letter was received from Rājā Jānujī on the 16th of the same month. In this it is stated that Jānujī sent replies to Nawāb Nāẕim Saif-ud-daulah and Muḥammad Riza Khān.[3] Śivarām Bhaṭṭa was still in rebellion and thought that a breach of peace between the English and the Marathas would be to his own benefit. Two more letters were received on the same day addressed to the Governor and a third to Muḥammad Riza Khān. The last letter contains the information that the proposal for the cession of Orissa was made through the Nawāb and his Naib and it was proposed to pay 13 lakhs of rupees annually. The cession of Orissa was practically agreed upon and Udepurī was recommended for the *Ṣūbahdārī* of Orissa. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn is accused of perfidy. Jānujī stated that the cession of Orissa was never made a condition precedent to the payment of 12 lakhs of rupees. A payment of a larger sum of money immediately in full settlement of the amount due as *chauth* might have brought Orissa immediately to the English, but as Jānujī definitely states, the English procrastinated and the negotiations fell through.[4] Similar

[1] *Ibid., pp. 150-52, Nos. 579, 583.*

[2] *Ibid., p. 150, No. 595.*

[3] *Ibid., pp. 195-97, No. 712.* [4] *Ibid., pp. 191-99, Nos. 706-7, 709-12.*

letters were written by Divākar Pandit to Muḥammad Riza Khān and Rājā Jānuji to Nawāb Nāẓim Saif-ud-daulah. Finally, Udepurī Gosāin wrote once more to be permitted to go to Nagpur to conclude the negotiations. Muḥammad Riza Khān sent for Mīr Zain-ul-'Abidīn Khān and asked him to explain his conduct but the latter protested his innocence and finally stated that the solution of all puzzles depended upon Udepurī Gosāin.[1] On the 24th of December, 1767, letters were written to Bhavānī Pandit and Dāmodar Bhañja informing them that Mr. Portsmouth had been appointed to survey the English districts contiguous to the sea-shore and requesting them to give him all possible assistance. The letter to Dāmodar Bhañja proves that the latter had been recognised as Rājā of Mayurbhañja in 1767 and Dāśarathī Bhañja was no more.[2] The war of Nārāyaṇ Deo, Rājā of Parlakimedi, continued. English *qasids* to Madras were harrassed and Muḥammad Riza Khān was directed to apprehend the Rājā's brother.[4] Even on the 19th February the proposed treaty was not completed and a letter written to Jānujī informed him that he would learn the condition of the English from the letters of Nawāb Saif-ud-daulah and Muḥammed Riza Khān. Another letter to Rājā Jānujī Bhonsle contains an expectation of order for the evacuation of Orissa.[4] On the 20th of the same month a letter was received from Rājā Nārāyaṇ Deo of Parlakimedi, stating that he had never interrupted the *qasids* of the English Company He states

1 *Ibid., p. 200, Nos, 713-6,*

2 *Ibid., p. 203, Nos. 725-26.*

3 *Ibid., p. 210, Nos. 752-53.*

4 *Ibid., p. 229, Nos. 806-7.*

that though he received *sanads* from Qāsim 'Ali Khān he prized the friendship of the English more than any body else.[1] Sambhājī Gaṇesh, the new *Ṣūbahdār* of Orissa, wrote a long letter received on the 10th of April 1768, stating that a body of 50,000 horse would be placed at the disposal of the British and that Mr. Alleyn had imparted all necessary information to him. Sambhājī writes that all particulars will be imparted to Udepurī Gosāin when he comes to Katak.[2] Sambhājī sent a reminder, which was received on the 29th April of the same year, in which it was stated that the letter received on the 1st of the same month was written on his arrival in Katak. This Sambhājī relieved Bhavānī Pandit and ruled Orissa till 1771.[3] On the 3rd May, the Rājā of Sambalpur complained against Sambhājī Gaṇesh, stating that a certain agent (*wakil*) had been prevented from coming and the new Maratha governor was creating great disturbance, Sambhājī himself sent another reminder which was received in Calcutta on the 4th of May.[4]

Suddenly on the 16th of June a letter was received from Sambhājī Gaṇesh, stating that Colonel Peach's detachment had marched towards Katak to quell the disturbances created by Nārāyan Deo.[5] A letter was written on the 18th of the same month to Sambhājī referring to the relief of a vessel stranded near Puri. Another letter from a certain Bihārī Lāl contains the information

1 *Ibid., p. 230, No. 812.*

2 *Ibid., p. 252, No. 892.*

3 *Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri, p. 43.*

4 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II. pp. 264-65, Nos. 930-31, 935.*

5 *Ibid., p. 279, No. 1009.*

that Udepurī Gosāin's son had arrived at Katak. A letter was written to the Rājā of Sambalpur on the 18th about the establishment of a factory and for the purchase of diamonds in his territory.[1]

On the 2nd July a long letter was received from Rājah Jānujī Bhonsle which refers in the first instance to the payment of *chauth* for Bengal, in the second instance to the appointment of Sambhājī Gaṇesh in the place of Bhavānī Pandit as governor at Katak and, finally, that one Lālā Ānand Rūp had been appointed from Nagpur to enquire into "the disposition of things at Calcutta and the advantages likely to arise from the inclinations of the Governor's heart." In the last sentence of this letter the Governor is requested to send back Udepurī Gosāin from Calcutta. Another letter received on the 4th of the same month from Sambhājī Gaṇesh contains the statement that he has been appointed *Ṣūbahdār* of Orissa. On the same date Udepurī Gosāin informs the Governor that he has forwarded Rājā Jānuji's letter to him.[2] Another letter from Udepurī Gosāin states that one Gopālpurī Nārāyaṇ was delayed by Sambhājī Gaṇesh who did not pay his travelling allowances. He complains that the conduct of negotiations being entrusted to Muḥammad Riza Khān, the latter will do certain things which will offend Jānujī. Udepurī begs for permission to go to Nagpur personally and decide the treaty.[3] A letter from Sambhājī Gaṇesh received on the 27th August informed the Governor that he collected magazines of provisions for Colonel Peach's

1 *Ibid., p. 280, Nos. 1012, 1016 and 1020.*

2 *Ibid., pp. 282-83, Nos. 1027, 1032-33.*

3 *Ibid. p. 290. No. 1066.*

army but as the march was delayed he had ceased preparations and that the stranded vessel would arrive in Calcutta very soon.[1] On the 13th of October Udepurī Gosāin wrote stating that he had received replies from Nagpur to the letters written by the Governor, Muḥammad Riza Khān and Saif-ud-daulah, and that he was sending a copy of the letter he had received from Rājā Jānujī with the letters to Calcutta. On the same date a letter received from Muḥammad Riza Khān, states, that he has delivered the letters received by him and Nawāb Saif-ud-daulah to Mr. Sykes, the resident at the court of Murshidabad. On the 15th of October letters from Jānujī were received by the Governor at Calcutta. The opening sentence contains the exceedingly interesting information that the English did not want him to enter into an alliance with Niẓām'Alī of Ḥaidarābād. Then it refers to the proposed cession of Orissa. Jānujī practically agrees to it. The long letter contains meaningless compliments and ends with the statement that he has written to Udepurī Gosāin, who will discuss the matter in private with Muḥammad Riza Khān. The secrecy was about the heavy payment which Jānujī expected for the sale of Orissa to the British. On the next day a letter was received from Gopālpurī Gosāin, the British envoy to Nagpur, informing the Governor of his arrival at Nagpur and his reception by Jānujī. At this interview Jānujī referred to his treaty of 1759 with Mīr Ja'afar 'Alī Khān and the assurance given to him by Lord Clive. It ends with the statement that Jānujī has written in detail to Udepurī Gosāin and is equally impatient to conclude the treaty. On receiving

1. *Ibid., p. 300, No. 1103.*

this letter the Governor wrote to Udepurī Gosāin at Murshidabad to send the proposals received from Mahārājā Jānujī. It is evident from a letter received from Jānujī on the 15th October that the English Company offered to pay three years' *chauth* (? 36 lakhs) as the price of Orissa—half cash down and the other half on the evacuation of the province (1153).[1]

A letter received from Sambhājī on the 30th stated clearly that Jānujī refused to rely on any treaty signed by the officers of the English Company. He wanted one signed and sealed by the King of England.[2] Jānujī had at last come to understand the real value of an Englishman's word in the 18th century remembering Clive's guarantee of the treaty of 1759-60 with Nawāb Mīr Ja'afar Ali Khan. On the 14th of December a letter received from Sambhājī Gaṇesh informs us that the Governor did not send any reply to his letters. Sambhājī refers to one Kriparām who had been sent to Calcutta by Mr. Alleyn of Katak.[2]

The negotiations culminated in January, 1769. The Governor sent for the treaties between Nawab' Alīwardī Khān and Raghujī Bhonsle I and the reciprocal one sent by Raghujī with the treaty between Nawāb Jā'afar 'Ali Khān and Rājā Jānujī Bhonsle. While sending these treaties from the record office at Murshidābād Muḥammad Riza Khān sent a note for the information of the Governor. The only additional information in this note is that Musliḥ-uddīn Muḥammad Khān was not liked by Sirāj-ud-daulah and took refuge with Raghujī at Nagpur

1 *Ibid., pp. 311-13, Nos. 1150-51,1153-54,1156.*

2 *Ibid., pp. 315-16, No. 1166.*

3 *Ibia., p. 325, No. 1216.*



Temple of Kakhāruā Vaidyanāth, Māntri,
Mayurbhañj State

and that during the time of Ja'afar 'Alī Khān he returned to Benares. That Sadr-ul-haq Khān negotiated the affair in the day of Nawāb Alīwardī Khān. We also learn that Muṣliḥ-uddīn Muḥammad Khān agreed to pay four lakhs more than the stipulated amount of twelve lakhs in order to find favour with Raghujī. The letter ends with the statement that the original treaties between Alīwardi Khān and Raghujī Bhonsle I were lost during the troubles with Mīr Qāsim 'Alī Khān.[1] There is some confusion of dates in the Calendar, because we are told that Muḥammad Riza Khān's note and copies of the treaties were received in Calcutta on the 1st January, 1769. Yet on the same date a letter is written to Muḥammad Riza Khān requesting him to send a copy of the treaty between Rājā Jānujī and Alīwardī Khān regarding the cession of Katak and on the next day another letter was written to the old traitor Rājā Durlabhrām requesting him to send a copy of the same treaty.[2]

Sambhājī Gaṇesh sent a reminder on the 8th of January asking for information about the negotiations between Nagpur and Calcutta and stating that up to that time he had borrowed 25 lakhs of rupees from the merchants for the maintenance of his troops. This is a gentle hint to the Governor regarding the delay in the payment of *chauth.*[3] But the arrival of the copies of the treaties from Murshidabad failed to accelerate the conclusion of the treaty. A long letter received from Sambhājī Gaṇesh on the 25th of May, 1769, contains information about the

1 *Ibid., pp. 329-32, Nos. 1243-47.*

2 *Ibid., p. 332; Nos. 1248, 1250.*

3 *Ibid., pp. 335-36, No. 1263.*

22

invasion of Nagpur by the Peshwa Mādav Rāo I and states the desire of the writer to come to the assistance of of the English. Sambhāji says that he has advanced to the edge of his district and wants to send one Govind Rāo to Calcutta in order to negotiate with the Governor, though Sambhājī claims the victory for Jānujī, Maratha history is eloquent about the fate of that prince. After the battle of Panipat Jānujī Bhonsle, Gopāl Rāo Paṭvardhan and the *Pratinidhi* took the side of the Niẓām and a long war began between the Peshwa Mādhav Rāo I and the Niẓāms Salabāt Jang and Niẓām Alī. Jānujī had demanded that of the districts ceded by the Niẓām to the Peshwa a full half were to be given to him. The Holkar advised the Peshwa to cede districts worth 32 lakhs of rupees a year to Jānujī. Jānujī had a right to collect *Ghāsdānā* from certain districts of Niẓām. Moreover, from the Niẓām's districts of Berar, Jānujī had the right of collecting 50 lakhs of rupees : 25 lakhs as *Chauth*, 10 lakhs as *Sardeshmukhi* and 15 lakhs as *Ghāsdanā* and other expenses of the army. After the disastrous defeat of the Niẓām at Rākshasbhuvan or Taindulza and his subsequent weakening, Jānujī defeated the Niẓām's General Moro Dhoṇḍojī of Berar in 1765. According to the treaty, the Niẓām now demanded assistance from the Peshwa Mādhav Rāo I. Jānujī had offended Mādhav Rāo by not joining his campaign in the Karnatak. Jānujī wrote that he had received a letter asking for aid from the Nawāb Qāsim 'Alī Khān of Bengal and therefore requested to be excused. According to the Niẓām's demand, the Peshwa invaded the Bhonsle's territories against the wishes of his uncle Raghunāth Rāo Dādā Ṣāḥib.

After the monsoon of 1765 Mādhav Rāo marched and reached Balapur on the 24th December to meet Raghunāth Rāo, who was waiting in Khandesh to go to Nothern India. Jānuji depended on the influence of Raghunāth Rāo to save him from the wrath of the Peshwa but the Dādā's intervention had no effect. From Burhanpur the Peshwa marched towards Nagpur. Jānuji sent his minister Devājīpant (Diwakar Pandit of English records) to Dādā Ṣāḥib. Raghunāth Rāo succeeded in interceding for Jānuji on this occasion. Mādhav Rāo decided to deal with his uncle first and then with Jānuji Bhonsle. Therefore after the capture and imprisonment of Raghunāth Rāo in 1768, the Peshwa invaded Jānuji's territory in January, 1769. It was on this occasion that Sambhāji Gaṇesh wrote to the Governor of the East India Company and his real desire was to obtain aid for his master against the Peshwa. His effort was too early and he failed. In 1768 Jānuji had joined Raghunāth Rāo with Govind Rāo Gaikwāḍ, and after the defeat of Raghunāth Rāo at Dhodap, the Peshwa turned against him. Jānuji now sent his *Chitnis* Chimnāji Rukmāṁgad to Poona to pacify the Peshwa. Then Devājīpant came to Poona and after understanding the current of the Peshwa's policy advised Jānuji Bhonsle to invade the Peshwa's dominions. Devājipant was imprisoned according to the Peshwa's order at Poona. On this occasion all brothers of Jānuji, such as Sābāji and Mudhoji, agreed to make war upon the Peshwa and to obtain aid from the English. The Peshwa left Poona in November and marched direct to Berar *via* Paṇḍharpur, Tuljāpur, Dhārūr, and Pāthri. He called Gopāl Rāo Paṭvardhan and

Rāmchandra Gaṇesh and from the Niẓām's side Rāmchandra Jādhav and Rūkn-ud-daulah joined him with eight thousand troops. After capturing Jānujī's territories in Berar this army came straight to Nagpur in January. The Bhonsle brothers remained at Chanda, which was under Mudhoji. Their treasure and families had been sent to Gāwilgaḍh and Jānujī had fled to Rantek. Rāmchandra Gaṇesh and Gopāl Rāo Paṭvardhan conquered the Bhonsle's territories in Berar as far as the river Wardha and then conquered Bhandara. Jānujī and his brother fled to Chanda and the Peshwa's troops captured and sacked Nagpur. Chanda was invested and Jānujī was pursued. Devājīpant was directing Jānujī's affairs, though he was in prison. The Bhonsle party, seeing Mādhav Rāo engaged in the siege of Chanda, decided to go to Poona and free Raghunāth Rāo from prison. One of Devājī's letters fell into the hands of Mādhav Rāo and the former's inprisonment was made more strict. Jānujī tried to send 15,000 cavalry to Poona and Satara to free Raghunāth Rāo and change the Maratha king at Satara. There was great panic at Poona on account of the threatened invasion of Jānujī from the 19th to the 23rd February, 1769. After three months campaigning the Peshwa was compelled to raise the seige of Chanda and send Devājī's *Munshi* to Jānujī to settle terms of peace. By the treaty of Kanakapur Jānujī Bhonsle agreed not to become independent, not to increase his army, to serve the Peshwa with 5,000 troops and to pay 5 lakhs of rupees every year.[1] Such was the victory claimed by Sambhājī Gaṇesh on behalf of his master Jānujī Bhonsle. To this letter a reply was sent on

[1] *Marāthī Riyāsat, Madhya Bibhāg, Vol. IV, pp. 146-61.*

the 27th May congratulating Sambhāji on the termination of the war. The Governor agreed to receive Govind Rāo.[1]

We must now turn to other sources to describe the termination of Clive's attempt to obtain Orissa practically without payment. Clive had placed a proposal before the Directors of the English East India Company to obtain Orissa by the payment of 16 lakhs of rupees annually. His actual proposal was : "I have proposed, *viz.*, that we shall pay sixteen *lakhs* upon condition that he appoints the Company *Zamindar* of the Balasore and Cuttack countries which, though at present of little or no advantage to Jānoji, would in our possession produce nearly sufficient to pay the whole amount of the *Chauth*."[2] Clive's scheme was adopted by Verelst. At this time Śivarām Bhaṭṭa Sāṭhe had been ousted from his post at Katak. Maratha authorities are unanimous in their praise of Śivarām. Sardesai states of him : "He quarrelled with the English on behalf of his master in order to obtain *chauth* from the English. He kept a strict eye on the affairs of Mir J'afar and Mir Qāsim and tried his best to prevent the final conquest of Bengal by the English. The latter now conspired to bring Jānuji's wrath upon him. Jānuji foolishly took him to be a traitor and removed him from the governorship of Orissa on the 24th April, 1764. But Śivarām did not leave his task. He gathered troops and attacked the English but was defeated on the 14th February, 1767. He gathered bad characters (*Chuāṛs*) and remained as a thorn in the sides

[1] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, pp. 364-66, Nos. 1388, 1393.*

[2] Talboys Wheeler--*Early Records of British India, pp. 346-47*

of the English for a long time. It is not known how he came to his end."[1] Jānujī Bhonsle paid very dearly for having given up Śivarām Bhaṭṭa Sāṭhe. He failed to get any money as *Chauth* from the English, who referred him to the Nawāb and at the same time secretly instructed the Nawāb not to pay any money to the Marathas. Śivarām had correctly gauged the proper time for a Maratha attack on the English in Bengal, but the coward Jānujī failed to join Mīr Qāsim 'Ali Khān before the battle of Katwa and could never muster sufficient courage to enforce his demands for *Chauth*. Clive, on the other hand, had dispatched troops to Northern Orissa for the suppression of Sivarām. This apparent action of friendship conciliated Jānujī and he sent Udepurī Gosāin to pursue the negotiations for the cession of Orissa. Jānujī was not getting more than 10 or 12 lakhs as net revenue from Orissa and if the English East India Company had been a little more liberal they would have obtained that province before 1769. But eighteenth century Indian diplomacy prevented any definite conclusion. "The Company's *Vakil* ingeniously argued in the course of the discussion that Allahvardī Khān had agreed to pay 12 lakhs of rupees as *chauth* for all the three provinces and that, therefore, if the Marathas wanted the stipulated *chauth*, it would only be logical for them to hand back possession of Orissa. Verelst eventually offered three years' *chauth* in ready money if the Marathas would vacate. Jānojī, of course, vehemently and very

[1] A Free Translation—*Marathī Riyāsat, Madhya Bibhag, Vol. IV; pp. 307-8*

justly, challenged the British interpretation of the treaty of 1751 A. D."[1]

The records contain very little of interest in these matters. On the 7th June, 1769, Mr. Cartier wrote to Rāgmānjī Jāchak stating that he had learnt from Mr. Catsforde (?) of Ganjam and Mr. Alleyn of Katak that a ship named *Friendship* had been stranded near Harajpur (Harishpur). As this ship was laden with the Company's goods it was desired that the *Āmils* should take care of the goods and render the crew every assistance possible. Another letter was written to the same effect to Sambhājī Gaṇesh.[2] Very interesting information is contained in a letter written to Sambhājī Gaṇesh on the 8th of the same month. It refers to the appointment of an Englishman to reside at Balasore or Katak. His name is not given but a request is made for a *Dastak* for him and his escort of fifty men. On the 14th of June, Muḥammad Riza Khān forwarded a letter which he had received from Jay Nārāyaṇ Rājā of Dhenkanal, son of Damodar Singh, praying for permission to send his brother as his *Wakīl* to Murshidabad.

The original letter from the Rājā was sent to the Governor by Muḥammed Riza Khān for orders. In this Jay Nārāyaṇ writes that his father died two months ago. "His county has been plundered by the Marhattas. Sambhājī Gaṇeś, who is staying at Jajpur, has rebelled against Rājā Jānujī.[3] Consequently the Raja's people have

1 C. C. Wills—*British Relations with the Nagpur State, p. 31.*

2 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence Vol. II p. 369 Nos. 1408-9.*

3 Sambhājī Ganeś had succeeded Bhavānī Kālu in 1175 '*Āmlī* 1768-89 A.D. Stirling says of him that: "The settlement made by him is remembered with bitterness, for its severity and harshness. He imposed many new cesses on the ryots and exercised unusual rigour in scrutinizing

come from the Deccan to summon him (to Nagpur). The whole country from Balasore to Cuttack is undefended, and Sambhāji has designs to loot it. Should a letter of encouragement be sent to the writer, he will stay in his country with a satisfied heart. Sends to Murshidabad his brother, who will relate all particulars to the Khān."[1] On the 2nd September, 1769, Sambhāji Gaṇesh wrote a letter received by the Governor on the 2nd September in which he states that Mr. Alleyn is equal to the business of the English factory and that the zamindars of *Qila'* Marichpur have been ordered to restore the cargo of the stranded sloop to Mr. Alleyn.[2] Another letter was received from the same person on the 5th October stating that there was no further necessity of appointing a resident at Katak as Udepurī Gosāin was sufficient on the side of the Marathas and Mr. Alleyn on the side of the English.[3] On the 25th October a letter was received from Rāmchandra Gaṇesh that he had arrived at Cutchwarah on this side of the Nurbada with a commission from the Peshwa Mādhav Rāo I to regulate the affairs of the empire, and inviting the governor to unite with him for the attainment of this important end.[4] This Rāmchandra Gaṇesh Kāṇade was a Konkanasth brahman of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra* who rose in the reign of Shāhu I

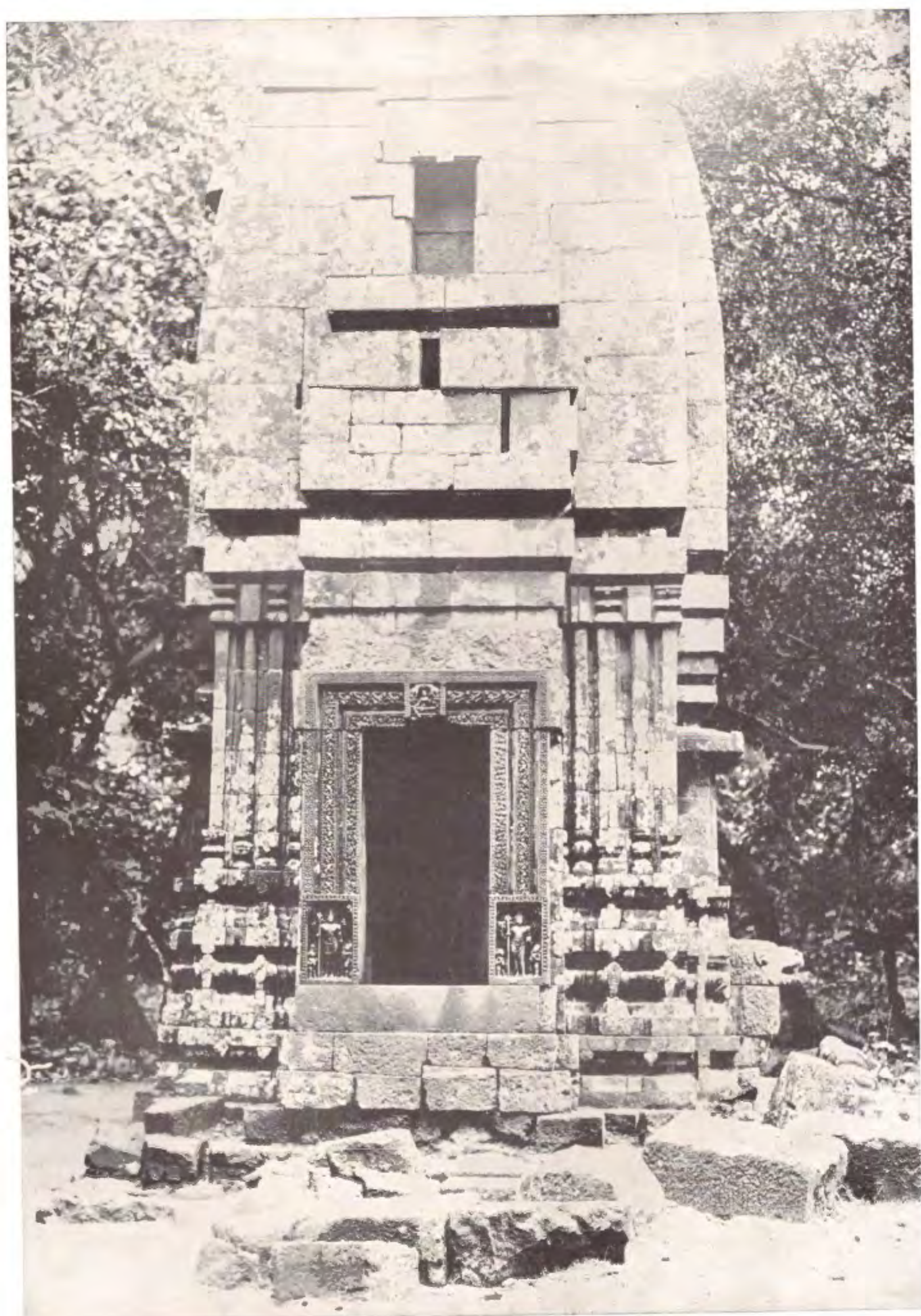
and resuming lands held in Jagir or free of rent, as the ayma, milk, Kharidgi, monajib, dagrai, &c." When he was recalled he refused to allow his successor Bābujī Nāyak to take possession of the offices—*Asiatick Researches, Vol. XV, p. 303.*

1 *Ibid., pp. 382-83. Nos. 1477,1481-83,*

2 *Ibid., p. 403, No. 1563.*

3 *Ibid., p. 410, No. 1633.*

4 *Ibid., p. 423, No. 1655.*



Chandraśekhara Temple, Khiching

and received a *Jāgir* at Koneri. He became famous as a general during the time of Peshwā Mādhav Rāo I. After the treaty of Kankāpur he was sent by the Peshwa to Northern India.[1] His letter received by the English Governor on the 25th October, 1769, appears to have been written immediately before his journey to Delhi. Rāmchandra Gaṇesh Kāṇade was a brave man, he died fighting with the English enemies of his country below Khandala *Ghat* in the Poona district on the 12th December, 1780.[2]

Udepurī Gosāin was permitted to leave Murshidabad and there is a copy in the Imperial Record office of the *Dastak* or passport granted to him from the 4th November 1769. "Udepurī Gusāin is allowed to travel from Murshidabad to Orissa with the following retinue:— *Sawārs* 50. *Barqandazes* 200. Camels 30. Mules 60. Oxen 60. *Palkis* 4. *Chaupālās* 25. *Bahlīs* 4. Servants 400."[3] Sambhājī Gaṇesh was written to for a passport for one Bikhu Sanve of Bombay who had come through Allahabad, Benares and Gaya on pilgrimage and wanted to go to Puri on the 6th November.[4]

Jānujī had become exasperated after three years of fruitless negotiations, and when the British turned a deaf ear to his appeal for aid against the Peshwa Mādhav Rāo I before the treaty of Kankāpur, he refused to allow a British army to proceed to Madras against Haidar 'Alī of Mysore. On the 13th December the Governor

[1] *Marathi Riyasat, Madhya Bibhag, Vol. IV, p. 162.*

[2] *Ibid., p. 304.*

[3] *Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 425, No. 1666.*

[4] *Ibid., p. 427, No. 1671.*

wrote to Sambhājī Gaṇesh to allow English troops to pass through[1] Orissa, but under instructions from Nagpur Sambhāji refused it on the plea of scarcity in his province and the rapacity of British troops.[2]

Stray correspondence continued till the death of Jānuji. On the 8th June, 1770, a letter was written to Sambhājī by the new Governor Mr. Cartier requesting him to correspond with him in the same manner as he did with Mr. Verelst.[3] On the 24th of January Sambhāji Gaṇesh informed that one Mr. Cartier was proceeding to Nilgiri for survey, and requested him to help him.[4] A long letter was received from Jānuji Bhonsle on the 29th January in which he recapitulates his grievances regarding *chauth*. Udepuri Gosāin had informed him that matters had not improved in any way. He complains that one thousand horse is being maintained at Katak where things were in a deadlock for want of money and requests the Governor to begin the payment of the Bengal *qists* immediately.[5] A letter was written to Sambhājī Gaṇesh on the 5th February complaining against Anku Rāy *Nāib Faujdār* of Balasore, Mr. Marriot had informed the Governor that Anku Rāy had stopped the importation of rice and other grain into the Barabati fort and oppressed the *muṭasaddīs* there.[6] The same person was informed on the 19th of March that two companies of Sepoys had gone to Orissa

1 *Ibid., pp. 336-37, No. 1708.*
2 *British Relations with the Nagpur State in the 18th Century, p. 32.*
3 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. III, p. 2, No. 9.*
4 *Ibid., p. 7, No. 40.*
5 *Ibid., pp. 9-11, No. 45.*
6 *Ibid., p. 15, No. 64.*

to survey the land and assurance is given to him that they will not harm any one.[1] To this letter Sambhāji Gaṇesh replied in a letter received on the 20th of the same month stating that he has permitted English troops under Major Achmuty to march through the province and that they were conducted through the Rajghat pass by a guide sent by him. Sambhāji expresses surprise on hearing from the *nāib* of Balasore that four Englishmen with a small party have arrived without intimation on the frontiers of Nilgiri.[2] A remonstrance was addressed to the Rājā of Kanika about the seizure of a ship by his people, the *sarang* of which fled and gave information to Mr. Marriot of Balasore. Mr. Marriot addressed the *ṣūbahdār* of Katak and the Rājā but without result. A ship arrived from Kanika was believed to be the captured ship and was detained.[3] A long reply was sent to Jānuji. Bhonsle on the 9th or 13th of May which begins with the deputation of Zain-ul-'Abīdīn Khān to Nagpur, the receipt of the treaties signed by Nawāb Saifuddaulah and the English chiefs and recapitulating the good offices of the English to Jānujī Bhonsle. The Governor lays stress on the fact that he helped to exterminate Śivarām Bhaṭṭa Sāṭhe by sending troops to Orissa. The English refusal to help Jānuji in his war with the Peshwa Mādhav Rāo I in the war of 1769 is camouflaged by stating that the English were ready to help Jānuji, but as his letter arrived in May, the monsoon approached and they feared that the war would be over by the time their troops could

1 *Ibid., p. 29, No. 118.*
2 *Ibid., p. 38, No. 135.*
3 *Ibid., p. 48, No. 171.*

arrive.[1] A curious case is recorded about the Raja of Sambalpur. The latter had entrusted a broken watch and Rs. 100/- for repairs to Mr. Alleyn and the latter gave it to one Bahāl Rāi who was going to Calcutta. Bahāl died after his arrival in Calcutta and the watch could not be found among his effects. A letter was written to Lakhmanjī Jāchak asking him to explain these facts to the Rājā of Sambalpur. We do not know who this Lakhmanjī Jāchak was and whether he was any way related to Rāgmānjī Jāchak or Raghunathji Jāchak of our previous paging.[2]

A complaint was addressed to Sambhājī Gaṇesh regarding the behaviour of the zamindar of Shahbandar near Balasore, who was levying duty on grain imported into the Company's *parganah* of Lambajpur (? Laichanpur).[3] A letter written by Udepurī Gosāin from Katak and received by the governor on the 24th July, 1770, informed him of the former's arrival at Katak. The Gosāin states that the governor had forgotten to send for him for two months and states that Jānujī had ordered him to proceed to Nagpur.[4] A letter from the *Ṣūbahdār* of Katak received on the 13th of September informed the governor that his letter addressed to Sambhājī Gaṇesh had been received and that Sambhājī was no longer the *Ṣūbahdar* of Orissa. The Zamindar of Shahbandar had denied the charge.[5] On the 3rd November the governor

1 *Ibid., pp. 61-63, No. 203.*
2 *Ibid., p. 63, No. 205.*
3 *Ibid., p, 69. No. 228.*
4 *Ibid., p. 91, No. 306.*
5 *This officer was Babujī Nayak who had succeeded Bhavāni Kāḷu in Rasle 1177-1770 A. D., and whose succession was disputed by Sambhājī Gaṇes. Sambhājī remained in Orissa for one year longer and Bābujī obtained possession finally in Rasli 1178-1771 A, D. Ibid., p. 106, No. 360.*

addressed Rājārām Pandit as the *Ṣūbahdār* of Katak. In this letter Rājārām Pandit was requested to assist Mr. Alleyn in realizing his dues from his debtors.[1] According to the *Mūdalā Pānji* Rājārām Pandit became the governor in 1778 long after the death of Rāja Jānoji Bhonsle.[2] Rājārām Mukund Pandit was the *Diwān* of Orissa for many years before his appointment as *Ṣūbahdār* of the province in *'Āmli* 1185=1778 A. D.[3]

On the 20th November Rājā Jānuji Bhonsle wrote another long letter, in which he complains of the long negotiations conducted by Udepurī Gosāin and of their failure and informs the governor that he has sent one Bhagvant Vishṇu Rāy to Udepurī and threatens war. A letter, received on the same date from Lakhmanji Jāchak, confirms the arrival of Bhagvant Vishṇu Rāy at Sambalpur on his way from Nagpur to Calcutta.[4] A congratulatory letter was written by the governor to Rājārām Pandit on the 16th April, 1771, stating that Mr. Marriott was the English resident at Balasore.[5] A letter received on the 18th of May from Udepurī Gosāin informs the governor of the former's arrival at Nagpur and of the displeasure of Rājā Jānujī Bhonsle for not receiving the money for *chauth*. Jānuji now required an explicit answer from the English about the payment of *chauth*. On the same date a strong letter was received from Jānuji himself complaining of breach of promise regarding the payment of *chauth*.[6] A

1 *Ibid., p. 121, No. 442.*

2 *Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri, p, 42.*

3 *Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, p. 304*

4 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. III, p. 127, Nos. 467-68.*

5 *Ibid., p, 192, No. 707.*

6 *Ibid., p, 201, Nos. 748-49.*

letter received on the 3rd of June confirms the previous report about the appointment of Rājārām Pandit as *Ṣūbahdār* of Orissa. In this letter Bābujī Nāyak informs the governor of his arrival in Orissa with a number of sepoys two months ago. He also states that Rājārām Pandit has received the Governor's letter through Mr. Marriott. There is a reference to a certain differnce with an Englishman at Chikakol.[1] A letter was received on the 16th of June to Bābujī Nāyak and a copy of it, sent to Lakhmanjī Jāchak, informed them of the re-appointments of Mr. Alleyn to Katak as he has to recover large sums of money from his debtors. The old officials at Katak were unfriendly to him and therefore the governor recommended that Bābujī Nāyak should take Mr. Alleyn under his special protection.[2] The same two persons were informed on the 21st of the same month that one of the officers of the king of England was going to Madras by land and requesting them to furnish the former with provisions and transport.[3] A letter received from Bābujī Nāyak on the 16th of July 1771 may be regarded as complimentary. It refers one Mr. Weeks to Mr. Cartier for further particulars. The name actually given is "Mr. Weches" but it cannot be identified.[4] The governor wrote to Bābujī Nāyak on the 28th August which shows that the latter had complained against the conduct of Mr. Weeks who had been appointed Resident at Katak in the place of Mr. Alleyn. It is stated in the letter that this

1 *Ibid., p. 208, No. 775.*
2 *Ibid., p. 213, Nos. 789-90.*
3 *Ibid., p. 216, No. 796.*
4 *Ibid., p. 224, No. 824.*

Mr. Weeks was left at Katak only to officiate for Mr. Alleyn during his absence and that he has been censured severely.[1] Another letter was written to the same Maratha governor and Lakhmanjī Jāchak of Sambalpur requesting them to help Captain Bruce, who was going to Madras by land.[2] A Raja of Kujang, whose name is given as Kosal Sandi Ray, invited the English East India Company to erect factories in his jurisdiction. To this a reply was sent on the 13th May 1772 stating that his suggestion might be acted upon.[3] This invitation from the Raja of Kujang shows a tendency to invite English traders in their territories on the part of Oriya Chiefs. In March 1773 the Maratha governor of Orissa was reduced to the necessity of begging the aid of English troops to reduce refractory zamindars. Though the name is not given the person must be Bābuji Nāyak. He requests the Governor of the East India Company to send him a battalion of troops whose expenses he was prepared to meet through Mr. Allen.[4] The old Mr. Allen appears to have died and his place was taken by his relative of the same name. Lakhmanjī Jāchak was informed of this change in a letter dated 26th March, 1773.[5]

The scene on the political stage of Orissa now changes quickly. Bhagavant Vishṇu, who is referred to in the previous pages as Bhagavān Vishṇu Ray, representative sent by Jānuji to Calcutta died in Calcutta. A letter was

1 *Ibid., pp. 238-39, No. 886.*

2 *Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 3, No. 19.*

3 *Ibid., p. 5, No. 27.*

4 *Ibid., pp. 37-38, No. 189.*

5 *Ibid., 46, No. 234.*

received from one Rāmji Jāchak, clearly a mistake for Lakhmanji Jāchak, on the 20th of April requesting the Governor to release the servants of the deceased Bhagvant Vishṇu and to send his property.[3] On the 22nd April a letter was written to Lakhmāji Jāchak stating that his letter requesting to release the property and men of Bhagvant Vishṇu had been received, stating that the deceased made an inventory of his property and left instructions about their disposal and his men were not in confinement.[4] This letter proves that Rāmji Jāchak and Lakhmāji Jāchak are mistakes for Lakhmanji Jāchak. According to Stirling there was a severe famine in the Katak District in the time of Bābuji Nāyak. Rice, the staple food of Orissa, was selling at less than two seers to the rupee and thousands of people perished. To add to this calamity a mutiny broke out among Maratha troops which could not be quelled for many months most probably because Babuji was a *Bāniyā* or Mahājan by caste.[5] On the 15th of May 1773 Mahādji Hari was appointed *Ṣūbahdār* of Orissa. In a letter received from him on the 15th of May the Governor is informed of his appointment and arrival in Orissa with a considerable body of troops. Madhavji states that the zamindars have withheld payment and therefore he will stay for ten or fifteen days at Khaṇḍāpārā and then proceed to Lalbagh in Katak. In the calendar this name is given at first as Hariji Pandit but the mistake can be detected from No. 384 on p. 73. Similarly the compiler of the calendar spells Khaṇḍāpārā as Kundaparah and does not know

1 *Ibid., p. 51, No. 261.*

2 *Ibid., p. 53, No. 274.*

Asiatic Researches Vol. XV, p. 303.



General View of the Twin Temples on the Top of Khaṇḍagiri Hill
Bhuvaneśvara.—Puri District

where Lalbagh is.[1] Another letter was received from Lakhmanjī Jāchak on the 25th of May regarding the appointment of the second Mr. Allen as Resident at Katak. The Governor wrote to Lakhmanjī on the 26th of May referring him to the men of Bhagavant Vishṇu regarding the property left by him. Two important letters were received from Mādhavjī Hari, the new Maratha *Ṣūbahdār* of Orissa, in the first one of which he complained against the Collector of Medinipur for stationing troops in the fort of Bamanghati. Mādhavji Hari received information from the Zamindar and *Faujdār* of Balasore that British troops, from Bamanghati, the capital of Raja Dāmodar Bhañja, were making encroachments upon the *chaklah* of Balasore. This was clearly an infringment of Maratha sovereignty in Orissa. Mādhavjī writes strongly to the Governor to direct the Collector of Medinipur not to exceed his jurisdiction. The second letter acknowledges the appointment of the second Mr. Allen as Resident at Katak.[2] The earliest letter writen to Sābāji Bhonsle was issued on the 10th of September in which he was informed that the English Governor had met his envoy Beṇī Rām Pandit. Evidently Sābāji's agent received a cold reception from the English Governor as the letter informs him in a lofty tone that "Owing to pressure of business could not hear him in detail." On the same date a letter was written to Mādhavjī Hari congratulating him upon his appointment as *Ṣūbahdār* of Orissa.[3]

News was received of the murder of the boy Peshwa

1 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. III, p. 57, No. 296.*

2 *Ibid., p. 73, Nos. 383-84.*

3 *Ibid., p. 96, Nos. 515-16.*

Nārāyaṇ Rāo is said to have been murdered by Sakhārām and some other *Risaldārs* of Raghunāth Rāo on the 9th of September 1773. This date is not correct. According to Sardesai the murder of Nārāyaṇ Rāo took place on Monday the 30th of August 1773, *i.e.*, seven clear days before the date given in the paper of news received by the English Governor in Calcutta sometime between October 23 and 25. With the murder of Nārāyaṇ Rāo the entire trend of Maratha History changes completely. This cowardly assassination brought Raghunāth Rāo to the fore-front and the Maratha power in India to the verge of a collapse from which it was saved by Nānā Faḍnīs and Mahādjī Śinde. In order to understand the real position so far as the Bhonsle kingdom and therefore Orissa was concerned we must go back a full year. The date of the death of Jānujī Bhonsle is not yet fixed. Sardesai states that Januji died in the month of May 1772, but his widow Mahārāṇī Daryābāī applied for permission to bring his ashes to the Ganges through Beṇi Rām Pandit in January 1775 and the earliest mention of Daryābāī is in a letter written to her on the 15th of August 1774. Unless Jānujī Bhonsle died at a later date there is no other reason for which his ashes were detained at Nagpur till January 1775. We have however to follow the lead of Sardesai[1] as the most trustworthy writer on modern Maratha History after Grant Duff. Raghujī Bhonsle I had left four sons, out of whom only Mudhojī had any children. Jānujī was the eldest. Sardesai gives a different date for Jānujī's death in a previous volume of his work, 29th April 1771.[2]

[1] *Maratha Riyasat, Madhya Bibhag, Vol. II, p. 320.*

[2] *Ibid., Vol. III, p. 182.*

Mudhojī had three sons, Raghujī or Bāpu Ṣāḥib, Khaṇḍujī or Chimnā Bāpu and Vyānkojī or Manyā Bāpu ; and the eldest was given in adoption to Jānujī of Daryābāī. It was decided by Jānujī before his death in consultation with the Peshwa Mādhav Rāo I that the administration of the Bhonsle State was to be carried on by Daryābāī with the help of Mudhojī after she had taken Raghujī as her adopted son ; but Madhav Rāo I did not agree to the appointment of Mudhojī as regent because the latter had taken the part of Raghunāth Rāo Dādā Ṣāḥib in his quarrel with his nephew. On the other hand, Sābājī had taken the part of Mādhav Rāo I in these quarrels and therefore he was favoured by the Peshwā Mādhav Rāo and Nārāyaṇ Rāo and Nānā Faḍnīs.

After the death of Jānujī, Sābājī combined with Daryābāī and gave out that as he was a brother of Jānujī there was no necessity of adopting Raghujī. Mādhav Rāo I immediately gave the title of *Senā Ṣāḥib Ṣūbah* to Sābājī, which became hereditary in the family. When Sābājī came to Nagpur, the Peshwa sent an agent named Rāmājī Ballāl Guṇe with him. Mudhojī was in despair and both of them collected troops. Sābājī was favoured by the *Niẓām-ul-mulk* Niẓām 'Ali Khān who sent his generals Rūkn-ud-daulah and Nawāb 'Ibrahim Beg Zābiṭ Jang *alias* Dhonsā to help him. Mudhojī allied himself with Isma'il Khān of Ellichpur. The Peshwa sent Būlājī Pālaṇḍe to help Sābājī. The first battle between the brothers took place at Kumbhārgāon near Bālāpur in January 1773 and Jījājī, a relation of the Bhonsles, was killed. The war stopped for a few days and negotiations commenced, and on the 28th of January a settlement was arrived at, according to which, the adoption of

Raghuji by Daryābāī was decided. It was further decided that both Sābāji and Mudhojī were to be joint regents. Ten trusted men remained as guarantees of the joint administration and two men were sent to Poona to obtain the clothes of investiture for Raghuji II. Before the ink on the treaty was dry quarrels commenced, as Daryābāī came over to the side of Mudhojī, who took her to Chanda and released Devājī Pant, mentioned in English records as Divakar Pandit, from prison. Sābāji's wife, who was at Nagpur, was plundered of her property. Thereupon Sābājī went to Khaṇḍe Rāo, who was a Sardar both of the Peshwa and the Niẓām. When the armies met again on the Wardha, Mudhaji met Sābāji and himself gave him the clothes of *Senā Ṣāhib Ṣūbah* to his brother, at which the Peshwa was offended and sent 3,000 troops towards Nagpur. This information was sent to Miraj from Poona in a letter written by Vāman Rāo Paṭvardhan on the 7th of May 1773. Peshwa Nārāyaṇ Rāo was also determined to crush Mudhoji lest he should join Raghunāth Rāo. We can now understand why Bābuji Nāyak applied for troops to the English Governor in May 1773. Orissa must have been depleted of Maratha troops on account of the civil war between the brothers. As Nawāb Isma'il Khan of Ellichpur had helped Mudhajī, Sābājī now attacked him and then sent an agent named Bhavānī Śivarām to Poona for help. The Peshwa sent Khaṇḍe Rāo Darekar with twenty-five thousand troops. These with the Niẓām's general, Rūkn-ud-daulah, harassed Mudhojī. Mudhoji's agents at Poona tried their best to see Raghunāth Rāo in prison and enlist his help for their master. But the Peshwa Nārāyaṇ Rāo was all along in favour of Sābājī

and sent him the clothes of investiture as *Senā Ṣāḥib Ṣūbah* a few days before his murder, on the 16th of August.[1] Nārāyaṇ Rāo was murdered by Raghunāth Rāo Dādā Ṣāḥib on the 30th of August 1773 and Raghunāth Rāo at once assumed the position of the Peshwa. He always favoured Mudhojī and immediately appointed him as *Senā Ṣāḥib Ṣūbah.* It was during those internal dissensions that a quick change of governors took place in Orissa. The appointment of Mādhavjī Hari appears to have been due to the influence of Mudhojī and he was removed in 1773 as soon as Sābāji regained power.[2] As soon as the birth of Nārāyaṇ Rāo's posthumous son was announced and the Ministerial party at Poona regained power the investiture of Rāghujī II as *Senā Ṣāḥib Ṣūbah* was withdrawn and Sābājī received the appointment once more.[3] Sakhārām Bāpu influenced the Council of Ministers at Poona to send Divākarpant Chorghoḍe to Sābāji, and Raghunāth Rāo's general Kṛishṇa Rāo Kāle fled from him to Sābājī at Nanded. Dīvākarpant went to the Niẓām and Sābājī and Trimbak Rāo Māmā met Niẓam Ali at Gunjoṭi near Gulbarga. Sābājī was in great want of money. On the 11th March, 1774, Haripant Phaḍke was sent by the Ministers, and Sābājī helped the Ministerial party throughout the war with Ragunath Rāo. Raghunāth Rāo came towards Burhānpur and then towards Berar in April 1774, and fought with Sābājī's force. Irregular fighting followed.[4]

1 *Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 320-23.*

2 *Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri, p. 42.*

3 *British Relations with the Nagpur State, p. 44.*

4 *Mārāthī Riyāsat, Madhya Bibhāg, vol. iv, pp. 370-77.*

The Peshwa Mādhav Rao II was born in the fort of Purandar on 18th April, 1774. The position of the Ministerial party at Poona was strengthened by his birth and the little baby was formally installed as the Peshwa on the 28th May, 1774. With the accession of Mādhav Rāo II Sābāji's position was strengthened but he was killed in a battle at Panchgaon, twelve miles from Nagpur on the road to Umrer. Mudhoji became undisputed master. During the struggle with Sābāji, Daryābāī deserted Mudhojī but she was seized with Raghujī II by the Niẓām's troops. With the help of Nawāb Isma'il Khān of Ellichpur and Muhammad Yusuf, one of the assassins of the Peshwa Nārāyaṇ Rāo, Mudhojī took the field once more after the monsoon of 1774 when the battle of Panchgoon was fought. Mudhoji gained power early in 1775 when Raghujī II was once more installed as *Seṇā Ṣāhib Ṣūbah* and Mudhoji became the regent for him. At this time Mudhoji's fourth brother Bimbājī was alive (died June 1787). The date of Sābāji's death is given by Sardesai as 26th January, 1775.[1]

Henceforth till the British conquest of Orissa, Raghujī II remained the undisputed master of that province. His father Mudhojī died on the 19th May 1788 and the chief power fell to Raghuji's brothers, Chimnā Bāpu and Manyā Bāpu. Immediately after the fall of Sābāji, Mādhavjī Hari was removed from the governorship of Orissa. Bābujī Nāyak was restored for a short time in 1775 but he was finally removed in the same year by Mudhoji and Mādhavjī Hari sent a second time and confirmed. The records of the British Imperial Record Office, as far as they have

[1] *Ibid., vol. III, pp. 282.*

been published in Volume IV of the Calendar, contain very few references to the negotiations with Warren Hastings for a coalition of the Bhonsle State with the English East India Company for the overthrow of the Peshwa. Mādhavji Hari writes to the Governor on the 29th December, 1773, that Beṇirām Pandit will wait upon him. Beṇirām was sent by Sābāji to conduct negotiations with the British.[1] Beṇirām is mentioned by Hastings and the negotiations came to an end with the death of Sābāji.[2] The English Governor sent a complimentary letter to Sābāji Bhonsle on the 6th January, 1774.[3] On the 8th February a letter was written to Mādhavji Hari at Katak in which the Governor requested him to help Mr. Marriott to realise his dues from the local people.[4] On the same date, one Rājārəm Bhaṭ was sent with five elephants and costly clothes worth Rs. 5000 for one Mahadi Hari Durkumāji Jāchak, Commandant of Barabatī Qila'. Evidently this name is composed of two different names: Mādhavji Hari the *Ṣūbahdār* of Orissa and Darkumāji Jāchak, the Commandant of Barabati fort. The name Durkumāji cannot be restored to its original Marathi form on account of its mutilation in the Persian records. A letter was written to Mādhavji Hari on the 26th February, 1774, in which the Governor acknowledges receipt of a letter intimating the dispatch of one Bisvambhar Pandit as his envoy to Calcutta after returning from a pilgrimage.[5] A paper of intelligence

1 *Calender of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV, p. 132, No. 728.*

2 *British Relations with the Nagpur State, p. 46.*

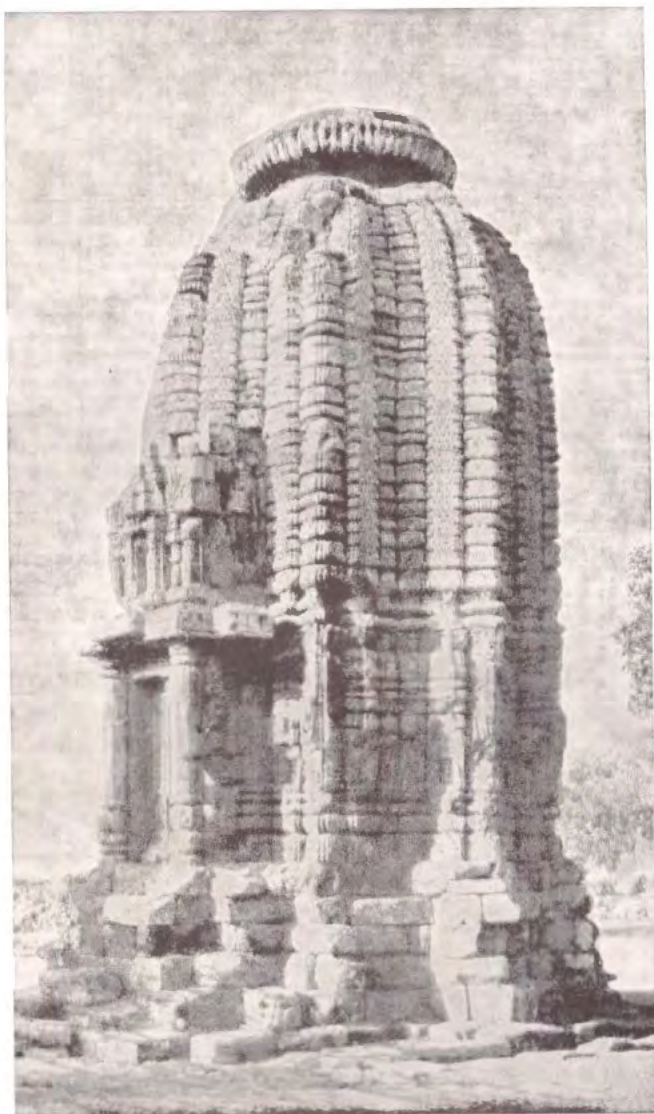
3 *Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Vol. IV, p. 134, No. 747.*

4 *Ibid, p. 145, Nos. 811-12.*

5 *Ibid., p. 152, No. 859.*

received in the same month contains an account of the origin of the Bhonsle family of Satara. The last line states that Pārsoji was a nephew of Shāji, the father of Sivāji. This information was evidently obtained for negotiations to be conducted by Warren Hastings for an alliance with the Bhonsles of Nagpur against the Peshwas described below.[1] Letters were written to Mādhavji Hari and Sitārām Rāj of Vizianagram on the 13th May requesting them to order the *Chaukīs* of their countries to pass free of *Rāhdārī* charges Mirzā Abu'l Hasan Khān and his party, an envoy of Shuja'-ud-daulah of Oudh who was proceeding from Calcutta to Orissa, Masulipatan, Ḥaidarābād (Deccan) and Surat.[2] Another letter was written to Mādhavji Hari informing him of the arrival of Beṇīrām Pandit in Calcutta.[3] A letter was received addressed to Sambhāji Gaṇesh, long after his removal from Orissa, instead of to Mādhavji Hari, requesting him to help the family of Mahārājā Rājballabh who are going on a pilgrimage to Purushottama Kshetra.[4] Similar letters were written to Mādhavji Hari on the 10th of June in one of which he was requested to order his officers to pass Mr. Lyon who was going to Ganjam by land. In the second, a passport is granted to Gopāl Gosāin who was going on a pilgrimage to Puri.[5] On the 18th of the same month a complaint was made to Mādhavji Hari against Gopīrām Dev, Rājā of Kujang, who had detained

1 *Ibid., p. 156, No. 887.*
2 *Ibid., pp. 182-83, Nos. 1019, 1021.*
3 *Ibid., p. 189, No. 1050.*
4 *Ibid., p. 196, No. 1094.*
5 *Ibid., p. 197, Nos. 1103-04.*



One of the Chaturvyuha Śiva Temples
(Tantrik) 4th century at Baudh

one Mr. Rogers whose ship had foundered near Kujang and was not prepared to release him. Mādhavjī Hari was requested to secure the release of Mr. Rogers and inform Mr. Marriott.[1] The Rājā of Kujang is called Kishan Chand Sinda, *Qila'dar*, in a letter written by him to Mr. Marriot of Balasore. In this letter he denies the charge of detaining Mr. Rogers and states that the ship was wrecked at Kokilo Dip, which was under the authority of Rājā Gopīnāth Dev.[2] Beṇīrām Pandit left Calcutta for the Court of Sābāji with presents consisting of two elephants and a sealed box containing valuables. A passport was granted to him from Calcutta to Benares on the 5th August, 1774.[3] Ten days later a letter was written to Mahārāṇī Daryābāi requesting friendship and stating that Sābāji's envoy Beṇīrām Pandit was returning to his master with presents from the English East India Company. The presents were :

1. One pearl necklace with a pendant.
2. One female elephant.
3. A brocade *sāṛī*.
4. A wrapper of brocade.
5. A petticoat.
6. Two *thans* of embroidered cloth.[4]

Another passport was issued for Beṇīrām Pandit who was travelling with his retinue and three elephants and other articles sent to Mahārājā Sābāji Bhonsle, through Benares.[5] In a letter received on the 2nd November, Beṇīrām Pandit informs the Governor that he arrived at

1 *Ibid., p. 198, No. 1109.*
2 *Ibid., p. 210, No. 1170.*
3 *Ibid., p. 217, No. 1202.*
4 *Ibid., p. 221, No. 1220.*
5 *Ibid., p. 222, No. 1229.*

Patna on the 2nd October and left that place on the 11th.[1] Another letter was written to Mādhavjī Hari asking him to help Rāmkānta Rāy, *Dīwān* of Jasārat Khān, Nāib Nāẓim of Dacca, who was going on pilgrimage to Puri.[2] A circular letter was addressed to many Indian notables on the 17th November, 1774, informing them of the appointment of the Governor of Calcutta or the Presidency of Fort William, Mr. Warren Hastings, as Governor-General of British India. Among the names of Shuja'-ud-daulah of Oudh, Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk Niẓām 'Alī Khān of the Deccan, Nawāb Nāẓim Mubārak-ud-daulah of Murshidābād and the Emperor Shāh Alām II of Delhi, we find the names of Mahārāṇī Daryābāī Kand Mahārājā Sābājī Bhonsle.[3] A letter received from Beṇirām Pandit on the 28th November informed Mr. Hastings that the former met Rājā Chet Singh at Benares and was leaving for Fyzabad. In this letter news was sent about the position of the parties at Nagpur. Sābājī had arrived at Nagpur and was staying there with Mahārāṇī Daryābāī and the young Raghujī II. Mudhojī was at Ellichpur. Tukojī Holkar, Mahādjī Śinde and Govind Rāo were at Burhanpur. Raghunāth Rāo was also at Burhānpur, and was sending ambassadars to Sakhārām Bāpu at Poona. Another letter was received on the same date from Mahārājā Sābājī Bhonsle which is complimentary in character and in which there is no demand for *chauth*, though there is a reference to its non-payment.[4] A letter received from Beṇirām Pandit on the

1 *Ibid., p. 248, No. 1360.*

2 *Ibid., p. 251, No. 1395.*

3 *Ibid., pp. 254-55, Nos. 1421-22.*

4 *Ibid., pp. 256-57, Nos. 1436-37.*

17th December, 1774, informed Mr. Hastings of his interview with the *Wazīr* Shuja'-ud-daulah at Fyzabad and referred him to a letter from Mr. Motte for further particulars. The affair of Mr. Rogers now becomes important. On the 17th, three letters were written to Kṛishṇa Chandra Saṇḍi, Rājā of Kujang, Gopīnāth Dev, Rājā of Karara and Kaldip (Kokilo Dip) but really Al or Aul, and Mādhavji Hari informing them of the dispatch of one Gobardhan Bhattāchārji to enquire into the case. A separate letter was written to Rājā Gopīnāth Dev asking him to release the crew of two ships wrecked near his coast.[1] The proposal for taking the ashes of the late Rājā Jānoji Bhonsle was received in a letter received from Beṇiram Pandit on the 21st January, 1775. Beṇirām requests Mr. Hastings to obtain a passport from the *Wazīr* Shuja'-uḍ-daulah so that the ashes may be consigned to the Ganges. He says that he met the *Wazir* at Lucknow and Mr. Middleton. He also states that he will start for Nagpur in four or five days. In the meanwhile, Gobardhan Bhattāchārji reached Rājā Gopīnāth Dev who denied all knowledge of Mr. Rogers and the crew of the two lost ships. Gobardhan learnt from other sources that one ship was wrecked on the coast and was plundered by his men, Kālāpāhāṛ and Dāmodar Bhuyāñ. A letter was received from Rājā Gopīnāth Dev stating that an English ship was wrecked on the coast of the zamindar but he helped the crew and sent them to Balasore. But sometime ago when another ship was wrecked he plundered the cargo and imprisoned the crew. He refers to another shipwreck in

[1] *Ibid., pp. 264-65, Nos. 1480, 1487, 1489-91.*

the month of *Kārtik* among the crew of which there were a few Europeans. They were sent to Balasore and the matter reported to the *Ṣūbahdār* of Orissa at Katak. Two letters were written on the same date, 24th January, 1775. The first one was written to Sābāji Bhonsle only two days before his death in which his letter, received through Beṇīrām Pandit, was acknowledged and willingness expressed on the part of the English to maintain friendly relations with him. The second letter was addressed to Beṇīrām Pandit in which he was requested to hand over a letter to Sābāji Bhonsle.[1] A letter was received from Sābāji Bhonsle on the 7th February congratulating Mr. Hastings on his exaltation to the rank of Governor-General. It is stated in this letter that Raghunāth Rāo was supported by the Śinde and the Hoḷkar but was defeated and fled across the Narmada.[2] On the 31st of the same month a letter was addressed to Mādhavjī Hari requesting him to help Russa Rām who was going to Puri on pilgrimage. This letter proves that even two months after the death of Sābāji, Mādhavjī Hari had not been removed.[3] Another letter, written on the 24th of the same month, requests Mādhavji Hari to help Bakhtawar Singh, who was taking elephants to Nawāb Muḥammad 'Alī of Arcot. Towards the end of the month intelligence was received from one Lālā Hansi Rāy of the battle between Mudhojī and Sābāji and the death of the latter.[4] On the 8th of March 1775, a letter was received from Beṇīrām Pandit stating that he

[1] *Ibid., pp. 272-73, Nos. 1536-37, 1541-42.*

[2] *Ibid., p. 278, No. 1574.*

[3] *Ibid., p. 280, No. 1591.*

[4] *Ibid., p. 283, No. 1615.*

was going to Nagpur *via* Kalpi. Apparently he was not aware of the death of Sābāji.[1] Mādhavji Hari was still in office and a letter was written to him on the 12th of March in which he was requested to liberate the Captain of the ship *Pembroke*, who was in confinement at Katak, as the Arab crew of that ship had mutinied off Point Palmyras and murdered their officers.[2] A letter was received on the 10th of April 1775 from Mudhojī Bhonsle in which he informs Mr. Hastings that he had defeated his younger brother Sābāji on the plains of Nagpur.[3] A letter was received from Mādhavji Hari on the 17th April in which the latter informs Mr. Hastings that arrangements have been made for the conveyance of elephants, evidently those sent to Nawāb Muḥammad 'Alī Khān of Arcot.[4] A reply was sent to Mudhojī Bhonsle expressing the desire of the English to maintain the friendship (?) formerly subsisting between them and Jānujī.[5]

With the accession of Raghujī Bhonsle II as *Senā Ṣāḥib Ṣūbah* or Rājā of Nagpur with his own father Mudhojī as the regent, a new era begins in the history of the Nagpur State and therefore of Orissa. Early in his reign Jānujī had followed the policy of Śivarām Bhaṭṭa Sāṭhe and demanded *chauth* from the English in Bengal persistently, but his own defeats at the hands of the Peshwa Mādhav Rāo I and the Niẓām in 1769 weakened his power. The Niẓām also practically crushed

1 *Ibid., p. 286, No. 1638.*
2 *Ibid., p. 288, No. 1645.*
3 *Ibid., p. 294, No. 1686.*
4 *Ibid., p. 296, No. 1697.*
5 *Ibid., p. 298, No. 1708.*

him and therefore his later demands for *chauth* were not emphatic. After his death the Civil War between Sābāji and Mudhojī so much weakened the Nagpur State that Mudhojī, after his final trumph, became subservient to the English East India Company.

Gobardhan Bhattāchārji reported in May that he saw Rājā Gopīnāth Dev of Aul and demanded the release of Mr. Rogers but the Rājā flatly denied the charge.[1] Several English men were serving under him. Mādhavjī Hari was still in office on the 31st May, 1775 and on that date a letter was received from him reporting his re-appointment. This letter proves that he held office from 1773 to 1775 and was replaced by Bābujī Nāyak for a short time only in 1775. This could have been for a month or so only during the ealier part of the year.[2] But a letter written to Bābujī Nāyak on the 21st June addressed him as *Ṣūbahdār* of Katak. It cannot be understood how he came to be so when Mādhavjī Hari was re-appointed on the 31st May of the same year.[3] On the 24th of September a letter was addressed to Bābu Jay Anant Saran as *Nāib* of Katak, we do not know who he was, about the wreck of the English ship *Somerset* and the confinement of its officers and passengers including two ladies by Rājā Gopīnāth Dev of Aul. The *Nāib* was requested to set them free. On the same date, another letter was addressed to Rājā Gopīnāth Dev demanding the immediate release of the people from the *Somerset*.[4] Jay Anant Saran, spelt Babu Jay Anant,

1 *Ibid., p. 307, No. 1772.*

2 *Ibid., p.. 315, No. 1813.*

3 *Ibid., p. 323. No. 1858.*

4 *Ibid., p. 341, No. 1950-51.*

which may mean that he was Babuji Anant, wrote to Mr. Hastings that he had addressed Rājā Gopīnāth Dev about the *Somerset*. Rājā Gopīnāth Dev also replied on the same date stating that people of the wrecked ship had proceeded to their destination.[1] A letter was addressed to the *Ṣūbahdār* of Katak, where there is no name, about the wreck of an English ship from Madras which had been wrecked at Jamgoda and its cargo seized by the Zamindar.[2] A letter received from Beṇīrām Pandit on the 23rd November states that Mudhojī Bhonsle intends to send him to Calcutta. Two renegade Marathas had deserted Mudhojī's service for that of Nawāb Āṣaf-ud-daulah of Oudh, and Devājīpant, the minister of Mudhojī, now requests Mr. Hastings to have them expelled from the *Wazīr's* army.[3] This is the last communication from the Nagpur State published in the fourth volume of the Calendar of Persian correspodence of the Imperial Records. These four volumes are replete with information which has to be accepted with caution, as they are full of mistakes of spelling and identification. The details given in these Calendars throw strong light on the condition and Maratha administration of Orissa from 1759 till 1775. After that period our information about the internal condition of the History of Orissa is very meagre.

The first important event in the History of the Nagpur State, very distantly related to the History of Orissa, was the attempt of Warren Hastings to ally himself with the Bhonsles of Nagpur against the Peshwa Mādhav Rāo II

1 *Ibid., pp. 349-50, Nos. 2004-5.*

2 *Ibid., p. 357, No. 2043.*

3 *Ibid., pp. 359-60, No. 2060.*

and the Ministerial party at Poona. Hastings was under the impression that the Bhonsles of Nagpur were really agnates of the Bhonsles of Satara and thought that they would readily accept a proposal for the overthrow of the Brahman usurpers of Poona. When war was declared between England and France Hastings thought that the French in India would be joined by the Peshwa. A body of troops under Colonel Leslie, then operating in Bundelkhand, was sent to a position on the borders of the Nagpur State so as to be able to join the Nagpur army immediately. He sent his friend Elliot, a brother of the first Lord Minto, who became the Governor-General of India in 1807, on an embassy to Nagpur. Elliot left Calcutta at the end of July 1778 and reached Katak on the 10th of August. They started from Katak and reached Sonpur through Baudh on the 23rd of the same month. Chattisgadh was the *jāgir* of Bimbāji, a brother of Mudhoji. Sonpur was then a petty dependency under the Rājā of Sambalpur, who was a feudatory of Bimbāji.[1] On the road Elliot died on the banks of the Lath river near the village of Semra in the State of Sarangadh. His party under Robert Farquhar reached Mohra, where he died. The survivors, Campbell and Anderson, reached Nagpur on the 14th of November. They stayed till the 12th of December and then joined the English army under Leslie's successor Captain Goddard at Hoshangābād. Negotiations continued with Lieutenant Daniel Watherston, but ultimately failed. Mudhoji was wise enough not to join the English again, though they were in favour of his old patron

[1] *British Relations with the Nagpur State in the 18th Century*, pp. 45-56.



Temple of Kaṇḍariā Mahādeo, Khajuraho

Raghunāth Rāo Dādā Ṣāḥib.[1] Rājārām Pandit was appointed *Ṣubahdār* of Orissa in 1778.[2] The British side of the negotiations has been critically examined by Wills but the Maratha side of the story is still wanting. With the usual Maratha policy Mudhojī had only temporised and did not reject the British proposals totally. Beṇirām Pandit, the Nagpur envoy, started on the return journey to Calcutta in February 1779.[3] Hastings wrote to Mudhojī about the same date but at that time Mudhojī had been drawn into a general Indian confederacy against the English. Nānā Faḍnis had combined the Peshwa with Mahādjī Śinde, Ḥaidar 'Alī of Mysore, Niẓām-ul-mulk Niẓām 'Alī and Mudhojī Bhonsle against the East India Company. Mudhojī was to invest Bengal and Niẓām 'Alī the Northern *Sarkars*, while Ḥaidar Ali was to ravage the Karnatak. Mudhojī was half-hearted in his allegiance to the Peshwa and had turned traitor very early. He gave information about the confederacy to the English, but at the same time he despatched an army of 30,000 or 40,000 horse to invade Bengal under his son Chimnājī Bāpu. Chimnājī started on *Daśaharā*, 11th of October 1779, but instead of marching straight to Bihar according to the orders from Poona, he delayed intentionally on the road and finally reached Katak eight months later in May. The real name of Chimnā Bāpu was Khandojī Bhonsle. The *Bakhar* of the Nagpur Bhonsles by Kāśirāva Rājeśvar Gupta states that Mudhojī sent Chimnā Bāpu much against his will to Katak accompanied by Bhavānī Kālu as *Karbhārī*,

1 *Ibid., pp. 56-66.*

2 *Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri, p. 42.*

3 *British Relations to the Nagpur State, p. 66.*

Nānā Śyāmrāj as *Phaḍnīs*, Mahādāji Umaji, Pāṇḍuraṅg, Maryāji (? Sūryāji) *Bakhshī*, Amṛit Rāo Mādhav Prabhu as *chiṭnīs* and Dattāji Yaśovant Aṭhole as *Muṣūḥib* and 25,000 troops.[1] Mudhoji tried to negotiate a treaty with Poona and the army sent under Chimnāji Bāpu lay idle at Katak. The same *Bakhar* states that Chimnāji reached Katak in faste 1189, and demanded arrears of *chauth* from Murshidābād. At last on the 9th of January, 1781 a draft treaty was received from Mudhoji. But the English could not accept it immediately. Hastings therefore decided to send an army immediately to Madras through Orissa, and Anderson was sent to negotiate terms at Katak so that the armies might not clash. Anderson arrived at Balasore on the 22nd January 1781 and was informed that Chimnāji had entered the jungles to punish the refractory Rājā of Dhenkanal. Anderson then proceeded to Katak and learnt that the Rājā of Sambalpur had created disturbances and interrupted the line of communications between Nagpur and Katak. Anderson opened negotiations with Mānojirām *Phaḍnīs* and Hirderām, *Dīwān* of Katak, who represented the *Ṣūbahdār*, Rājārām Pandit. Eventually the Maratha officers in Katak promised not to interfere with Colonel Pearce's troops in their march through Orissa. Chimnāji returned to the open country and permitted Colonel Pearce's army to pass and even helped it in every way. Gupte's *Bakhar* :states Hastings promised to pay a black-mail of :thirty lakhs of rupees at once and thirteen lakhs of rupees every year for the passage of Colonel

[1] *Kāvy-etihās-saṁgraha, March 1883, Dnyānprakāsa Press, Poona, pp. 127-8.*

Pearce's army through Orissa. The Marathas referred to the stoppage of the *chauth* and Hastings directed Anderson to flirt with them. Chimnāji was not on good terms with his brother Raghuji and Hastings tried to gain him over by hinting at hopes of British co-operation in case he made a bid for the throne.[1] But Chimnājī was a mere boy of seventeen and British envoys could not approach him except through his ministers and the intrigue started by Hastings failed. He had paid three lakhs of rupees secretly and promised to pay twleve lakhs more in addition, in return for which Chimnājī was to promise either to return with his army or not to employ it against the British. The negotiations are amply described by Wills, and need not be quoted here. The Maratha ministers refused bribes and finally the Nagpur envoys met Hastings at Calcutta on the 26th of March, 1781. Hastings finally paid thirteen lakhs of rupees to Chimnāji Bāpu and agreed to assist him in raising a loan of ten lakhs in Bengal. Further Chimnājī Bapu sank to the degradation of placing two thousand Maratha cavalry at the service of the British for which the British were to pay one lakh of rupees monthly and were to assist Mudhojī's forces in taking possession of Gaṛhā-Māṇḍlā. Thus ended the last attempt of the Marathas of Nagpur to invade Bihar or Bengal. Khaṇḍojī, *alias* Chimnā Bāpu, returned to Nagpur in faste 1190, after remaining in Orissa for one year, according to Gupte's *Bakhar*. For his treachery to the central Maratha Gevernment at Poona Mudhojī was threatened with the utmost vengeance of the Peshwa, but in October of the same year negotiations for a general

[1] *British Delations with the Nagpur State in the 18th Century, p. 75.*

peace were started through Mahādji Śinde and the treaty of Sal-bai was concluded in 1782. According to the *Bengal District Gazetteer*, Rājāram Pandit left Orissa in 1782 and he was succeeded by his son Sadāśiva Rāo in the same year, but a number of unpublished records collected by the present Chief of Mayurbhañja and kindly placed at my disposal prove that Rājārām Mukund Pandit continued for some time longer. Stirling also places the succession of Sadāśiva Rājāram in 1789. These unpublished records relate mainly to British intercourse with the Chiefs of Mayurbhañja. It will, therefore, be necessary to deviate a little from our own narrative.

There is no doubt about the fact that the Chiefs of Mayurbhañj had finally submitted to the suzerainty of the Marathas, because we find in a report submitted by the late Commissioner of Katak from Katak on the 20th December that Mayurbhañja paid a *Peshkash* or quitrent of Rs. 6000 per annum plus 10/16th of the capitation tax levied over pilgrims at Khuntaghat. We have seen before this that Dāmodar Bhañja was already on the throne of Mayurbhañja and referred to in the Calendar as the Chief of Mayurbhañja. There appear to be numerous references to the affairs of Orissa in records subsequent to 1775 and in other places than the Imperial Record Office, such as the Collectorates of Midnapur, Balasore, Burdwan and Ranchi and in the office of the Superintendent of Orissa Feudatory States at Sambalpur. In the proceedings of the Provincial Council of Revenue at Burdwan there are some very early records regarding Orissa. The zamindar of Bamanhati was a feudatory of the Chief of Mayurbhañja. T. Sidney Smith, Officer

Commanding at Haldeapur, reported to the Chief of Medinipur that as the Zamindari of Bamanhati was obstructing the supply of provision he sent a *Jamādār*, a *Hāvildār*, a *Nāik* and nineteen Sepoys who captured him but were compelled to let him go. (Letter dated Haldeapur, 20th May, 1774). On this the Medinipur Council resolved to write to the chief of Mayurbhañja to direct the Bamanhati zamindar to supply provision to the troops stationed at Haldeapur (26th May, 1774). In a letter received from one Udainarayan, Nāib of Medinipur, on the 17th June there is a reference to Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja who is said to have sent his *Wakīl* Gobar Dunya Putnaik (Gobardhan Paṭṭanāyak) with a letter requesting that he may be given the revenue farm (*Ijārādārī*) of Beloorichor and the possession of the forts of Carpore (Khānpur) and Umirda (Amardah), but as the president was absent one Chunoo Ghose and zamindars of the *parganah* represented that Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja was formerly the *Ijārādār* of this *parganah*, but he lost it during the chiefship of Mr. Baber in *Āmli* 1178, 1771 A.D., on account of disturbances raised by him in the payment of revenue. The Rājā's *Wakil* said that the forts of Khanpur and Amardah have no connection with Beloorichor but are included in Balasore. His opponents replied that the duties were collected at Belloorichor. The Nāib informed finally that he had requested Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja to send a trusted man with papers in support of his claim. At this time Jagannāth Ḍhol of Dholbhum was opposed to the English East India Company and in open rebellion. In a letter written by Alexandar Higginson, chief of Medinipur, to Warren Hastings it is reported that the zamindar of

Ghatsila appointed by the British, Baikaṇṭha Ḍhol, possessed about one-fourth of Ḍholbhum, the rest being in the possession of the rebel Jagannāth Ḍhol, the difficulties of the country making it impossible for the English East India Company at that time to crush him.

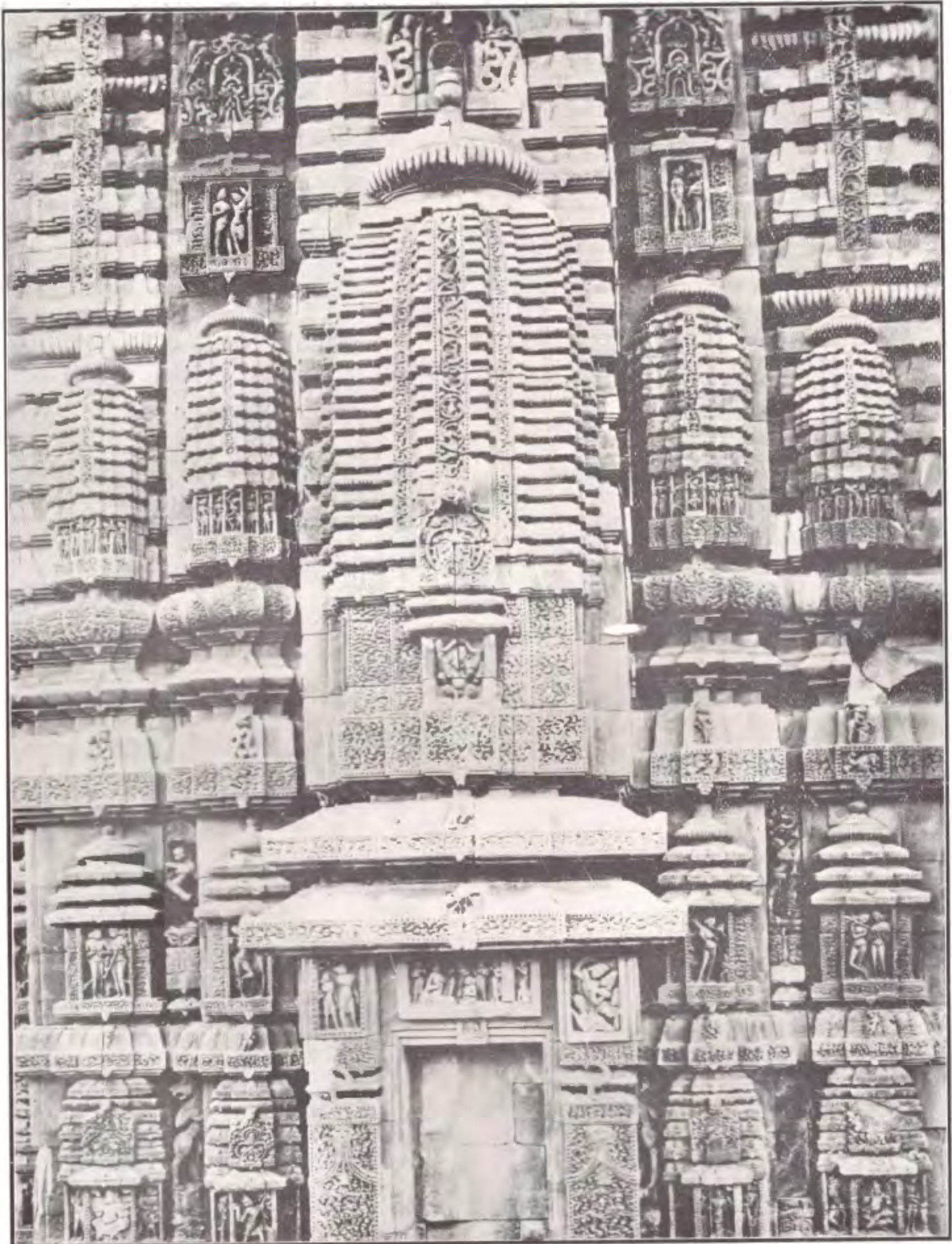
Warren Hastings as Governor-General informed the Council that the Rājā of Mayurbhañja had lately seized by an armed force the Company's territory of the *parganah* of Beloorichor in Medinipur, in consequence of which the Committee of Revenue had been directed to issue a public summons requiring the Rājā to appear personally as a tenant of the Company in the district of Medinipur to answer for his conduct. (Letter dated 1st September, 1781). This event was reported to the Directors of the East India Company in a dispatch dated 22nd December, 1781, in which we learn that letters from the *Faujdār* of Balasore and the Rājā of Mayurbhañja indicate that no further disturbance will take place. Another despatch to the Directors dated 27th November contains the information that Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja submitted his claims for enquiry but both the Board of Revenue and the Governor-General in Council rejected his application. The despatch states that the Council at Calcutta had written to "the Rājah of Berar," *i. e.*, Sābājī Bhonsle, for an interchange of territory, as at this time the chief of Mayurbhañja was a feudatory of the Maratha government and a zamindar under the English East India Company. "He thence enjoys a facility of which he has often availed himself to evade the just demands of either power by alternately taking shelter under the other." There is a copy of a *parwanah* dated 9th Rabia'-ul-Ākhir 1200 A. H. (1785-86)

translated by Henry Colebrook, by which Raghuji Bhonsle II orders Sadāśiva Rājārām, *Ṣūbahdār* of Orissa, to release two persons captured by Maratha tenants of Pataspur in British territory. The matter was represented to Raghuji II by Colebrooke himself. It appears from a note written to Raghuji II on the 4th September, 1799, that at that time one Veṅkāji Tirumal *Faḍnīs* was the *Dīwān* of Revenues in Orissa. The second batch of records commence in 1781. They are taken from the proceedings of the Committee of Revenue, J. Peiarce, Collector of Medinipur, dated the 24th March 1781, forwarding three petitions. In the first Gauriballabh Rāy, zamindar of *Thānā* Fatḥābād, states that the Rājā of Mayurbhañja has arrived at Beloorichor on the north side of the Suvarṇarekhā, imprisoned a *mohurri* named Bhuvan and plundered the tenants. The Rājā had declared his intention of doing the same thing at Fathābād. The second petition sent six days later was from the Chaudhuris and Qānungoe of the *pargana*h of Beloorichor informing that they had retreated to Jaleswar and requested the despatch of troops. The third petition was sent on the same date by Maḥmūd Zarif, *Thānahdar* of Jaleswar, and contains the interesting infomation that there was an invasion of Piṇḍārīs in Orissa. Dāmodar Bhañja followed closely after them and entered the fort of Omerdan (Umardan),[1] and plundered what he found there. The Rājā sent for the *naibs* of the Chaudhuris of Beloorichor and took *kabūliats* from them for Rs. 7000. The Collector states that Major Macpherson is about three miles from Umardan with his regiment but he fears that if he sends troops it may raise complications with the

[1] See *Ante*.

Marathas. The petition from the Chaudhuris and *Qānungoe* of Beloorichor of the same date states that "The Lungarehs of the Meharattah army" had entered the province, *i. e.*, Medinipur in the *Tappah* of Muḥammadnagar. The Maratha Lungarehs are also mentioned in the letter of Muḥammad Zarif, dated 22nd of March, 1781.

The Committee of Revenue resolved to place these papers before the Governor-General in Council on the 29th March, 1781, and the latter ordered the issue of a warrant against him and the confiscation of his zamindari in the British district of Medinipur in case of non-appearance. In this letter dated the 25th May, 1781, Warren Hastings declares his intention to write to Rājārām Mukund Pandit to join in punishing Dāmodar Bhañja. On the 5th June, 1781, Peiarce, Collector of Medinipur, reported that Rajah Dāmodar Bhañja had broken into the *parganah* of Beliabera in the *Thānah* of Jānpur. He came with about 25 horse and 200 or 300 *Pāiks*, plundered and burnt some villages and came to the *Thānah*. The Indian officer and the sepoy turned him back and he went to the *Parganah* of Nayabasan (letter dated 6th June, 1781). The Collector then ordered Lieut. Broughton on the 5th June to proceed with 50 sepoys and join Murād 'Ali Khān Jamādar of Jānpur and protect Baleabara, Barajeet and Chaira and finally to proceed to Gopiballabhpur in Nayabasan. A parwanah was issued on the 5th June to Rāja Dāmodar Bhañja, to which he paid little heed. Dāmodar Bhañja sent a reply on the 8th of June stating that he was ready to pay Government revenue but Bheraje, zamindar of Baleabera, decoyed away his tenants from Nayabasan which made it very difficult for him to realise his dues. In the month



Ornamental Details
Brahmeśvara Temple at Bhuvaneśvara, Orissa

of Jaith four of his tenants from Nayabasan were being carried away when they were prevented by his people. He sent men to Bheraje, who denied all knowledge of the affair. His own men were beaten and carried to the *Thānadūr* of Jahānpur. Here they were beaten again and then sent to Nayabasan. A reply was sent to Rāja Dāmodar Bhañja on the same day in which he was upbraided for being in arrears for two or three years and finally threatened with the wrath of the Company. The proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 11th June, show that Rāja Dāmodar Bhañja had taken possession of the important passes of Rāṇīsarāi, Multānī and Rājghāt in the *Chaklah* of Jaleswar. Proceedings of the Council of Revenue and the Governor-General's Council show that the Governor-General was requested to write to Rājārām Mukund Pandit that the disturbances on the Jaleswar frontier consisted of mutual seizing of cattle by British and Maratha subjects in which one Basārat Khān took part on behalf of Nānā Rāo, the *Faujdār* of Balasore. A joint enquiry was held by one Parameśvarī (spelt Permissery in the record) and Imām-ud-din on the part of the English and Parameśvarī restored 91 bullocks and promised to return the remaining 313 within eight days. But neither the *Faujdār* of Balasore nor Parameśvarī had kept their promise. In consequence British subjects retaliated by seizing some cattle belonging to one Saker Dutt (Sāgar Datta) of Balasore. The Collector of Mednipur is willing to restore these cattle as soon as the *Faujdār* of Balasore returns the 313 heads seized by Maratha subjects.

The Council of Revenue wrote to Peiarce, the Collector of Medinipur (the date of the letter not given in the copy

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supplied to me), conveying the instructions of the Governor-General in Council. The Collector of Medinipur was directed to commence a judicial process against Rāja Dāmodar Bhañja of Mayurbhanja by issuing a public summons to him requiring him personally to appear as a tenant of the Company at Medinipur on a fixed day to answer for his depredation into British territory. The Collector was also authorised to take possession of all zamindaries belonging to Dāmodar Bhañja on the northern side of the Suvarṇarekhā. In a letter dated the 16th July, 1781, the Collector informed the Board of Revenue that Rāja Dāmodar Bhañja took no notice of the summons served on him and troops of the Company have driven out the Rāja's men from the *Parganah* of Beloorichor. In a letter from Major Macpherson to the Collector dated 24th July, 1781, we are informed that Mayurbhañja troops had been driven out of Amardah and Rājghāt. They made a stand at Amardah, where one *Bhishti* was killed and one Jamādar and one Sepoy wounded on the British side. Major Macpherson applied for re-inforcements and Captain Fenwick marched to Beloorichor with one hundred and fifty men (letter dated 29th July, 1781). In a letter dated 1st August, 1781, Major Macpherson informed Peiarce of Medinipur that Lieut. MacGregor had informed him that Dāmodar Bhañja had at one time promised cessation of hostility ; but on the 29th July his people advanced towards the British and fought for one hour. When they gave way, one Sepoy was killed and one Hāvildār and one Sepoy wounded, while the Mayurbhañja army lost about twenty-five killed and wounded. Dāmodar Bhañja's troops were joined by two thousand Maratha horse and men and the

people of the neighbourhood fled to the jungles and British troops had to fall back upon the Suvarṇarekhā. On the 2nd of the same month Macpherson reported that Captain Fenwick had joined him. The arrival of a *Wakīl* from Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja with a letter is reported in a letter from Captain MacGregor from his camp near Patpore dated the 28th July, 1781, to Macpherson. Two letters from Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja of Mayurbhanja protesting against British invasion, but without date, are preserved. In the second one Dāmodar Bhañja states that he received charge of the country from Rajghat to Rājārāṇi *Talāv* from Mahārājā Chumpājee (Chimnāji Bāpu), who gave him some Maratha Jamādārs. The summons sent to him is dated 23rd Āshāḍha 1188 *Āmlī* or 12th July, 1781.

Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja sent a representation to the Company which was received at Medinipur on the 25th July, 1781, in which it is stated that the zamindar of Bulliaberah seized a woman in his territory and when he sent his men to enquire he beat them severely. On hearing this the Rājā left Amardah and sent some of his troops to Bulliaberah. The zamindar of Bulliaberah was a subject of Mayurbhañja. Eighty-one *Mauzahs* belonging to Qilas Amardah and Khānpur were unjustly occupied by the zamindar of Beloorichor. In accordance with the order of Chimnāji Bāpu he has taken possession of these eighty-one villages, the revenue of which he was to send to the Maratha Government. These facts have been represented to the Governor-General by Beṇīrām Pandit, the *Wakīl* of Rājārām Pandit. These two letters were forwarded to the Collector of Medinipur by Macpherson with his letter dated 3rd August, 1781. In the

meanwhile, MacGregor arrived at Binnapara and began hostilities and a third letter was received from Dāmodar Bhañja on this subject. A fourth letter was received from the Rājā stating that the country between Rājghāt and Rājārāṇī *Talāv* was given to him by Chimnājī Bāpu and held by Maratha Jamādārs. In a long report from Captain Fenwick to Macpherson we are informed that the Mayurbhañja troops were being daily re-inforced by Maratha troops from Katak and stating that he intended to march from his camp near Pabpore to Rānī Sarāi and Khānpur.

Another long communication was received by the Collector of Medinipur from Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja on the 4th August, 1781, stating that after the arrival of certain English gentlemen at Tappore (Tājpur), the Rājā retired to fort Ghotah. For several years his *'Āmils* had been in possession of the country between Rājghāt and Rājā Berattees tank (Rājārānī *Talāv*). This was confirmed by English letters from the Governor of Calcutta. When Chimnājī Bāpu returned, he left with the Rājā, Mīr Himmat 'Alī Khan and Hutguir (Hastgir) Rāo in Amardah and gave the charge of the collection to Mīr Himmat 'Alī. The Rājā protests against the seizure of Beloorichor without any *Khor-posh* or *Mālikānā* for the same. The Collector of Medinipur replied to this letter on the 4th August, 1781, stating that in the *'Āmlī* year 1186 an investigation was made in the presence of Govind Rutton *Wakīl* and the zamindar of Beloorichor in which it was proved that the Rājā plundered Oodunt (Udmant) Rāy and Rūpdās Rāy and seized these eighty-one villages. In *'Āmlī* 1172, Mr. Watts made an inquiry and annexed these

villages to the territories of the Company. The Rājā was asked in this letter that if these eighty-one villages were his ancestral property then for what reasons he did not appeal against the order of Mr. Watts. The Rājā was once more requested to come to Medinipur in person.

On the 6th August, 1781, Macpherson reported to Peiarce that Fenwick had occupied Khānpur, Multānī and Rāṇī Sarāi without any opposition from the Mayurbhañja people. Proceedings of the Council dated 10th August show that the Company decided to keep the troops in Beloorichor for the time being. In a letter dated 14th August, 1781, Nayanchānd Ghosh, *Shiqdar* of Beloorichor, and Muḥammad Sharīf, *Thānahdār* of Jaleswar, reported that the Mayurbhañja troops were at Coontau, eight miles from them, and, therefore, unless troops were stationed at Patpur, Rāṇī Sarāi and Gumraw, cultivators would not return to their villages. According to this report troops were stationed at these villages. The Company's Government at Calcutta now decided to withdraw the troops from Beloorichor leaving a party for the protection of tenants.

The Collector of Medinipur wrote to Nānā Rāo, the *Faujdār* of Balasore, stating the intention of the Company to chastise Rājah Dāmodar Bhañja. A letter was received from the latter on the 14th August by the Collector of Medinipur stating that Maratha troops were stationed in the forts of Amardah and Khānpur, that he has sent his *Wakīl*, Saiyad 'Abdul 'Alī and begging the Collector to remove Captain Fenwick from Beloorichor. The Collector sent a reply on the 15th requesting the Rājā to withdraw

his army from Coontau to Hariharpur and to send a *Wakil*. Evidently Saiyad 'Abdul 'Alī had not yet arrived. On the 31st September, 1781, Peiarce reports that the *Wakīl* who came from Dāmodar Bhañja was not invested with proper authority. A petition was addressed to the Governor-General by Nānā Rāo Mukund, younger brother of Rājārām Mukund Pandit and Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja of Mayurbhañja in which it is stated that Nānā Rāo was proceeding to Calcutta, but on the way he had to return to Medinipur an account of a disorder in his feet. His *Wakīl* has already gone to Calcutta regarding the delivery of eighty-one villages pertaining to the Qila' of Mayurbhañja. It is requested that the claim may be settled by Messrs. Croftes and Charters. There is considerable truth in the petition of Dāmodar Bhañja in which it is stated that he sent papers authenticated by the signature of *Ṣadar Qānungoe* Jay Nārāyaṇ Rāy but they were rejected by one Chandra Śekhar Ghosh. Peiarce was distinctly averse to him. He sent his *Wakīl* to Calcutta to lay his complaints before the Council but nobody paid any attention to them. It is not known how much gold "Nabob" Peiarce assimilated from the zamindars of Beloorichor to hand over these eighty-one villages to wrongful possessers from the rightful owners. We must remember that in the eighteenth century British justice in India was tempered to suit the needs of Bengali vermin of the type of Gangāgovind Singh, Nabakṛishna De and Krishna Kānta Nandy, who clung to the eighteenth century "Nabobs" of the type of Clive, Vansittart, Verelst and Hastings as parasites. Had Dāmodar Bhañja belonged even to the end of the nineteenth century some justice

might have been done to him. The Council resolved to direct the *Qānungoe* of Jalesvar to come to Calcutta with the papers regarding the claim to these eighty-one villages by the Marathas and Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja. The *Wakīl* of Dāmodar Bhañja submitted a representation to the Governor regarding the fort of Amardah and the eighty-one villages appertaining to it. From this we learn that the Rājā withheld payment of the revenue of fifty-two of these amounting to Rs. 1036. Security was demanded from him but he failed to give that too. The Collector of Medinipur entered into an agreement with the *Mālguzārs* for the direct payment of the revenue to the Collector to liquidate the Rājā's debt and thus became *Ijārādārs*. The next year the Collector seized these eighty-one villages and annexed them to the district of Medinipur. A *Wakīl* was sent to the Governor and the latter wrote to the Collector of Medinipur, but the Collector paid no heed to it. It appears that on the arrival of Chimnāji Bāpu complaints were sent to him and Rājārām Mukund Pandit, who came to Calcutta. Rājārām Pandit promised to write to his *Wakīl* about it. John Shore, as Acting President of the Council, decided that it was difficult to determine clearly upon the rights of the two parties but "the proof rather preponderates in favour of the Mohrbunge Rājā." Further on, he states the "If the matter of the right between the zamindar of Beloorichor and the Rājā of Mayurbhanja is uncertain, it is equally difficult to determine to whom the revenues belong, to the Company or to the Marathas. The *Wakīl* of the Mayurbhañja Rājā affirms he pays and has ever paid them at Balasore to the Marathas together with the rent

of Remuna."[1] On this report the application of Dāmodar Bhañja was sent to the Board of Revenue. The Governor-General in Council decided on the 26th April, 1782, to prosecute the inquiry further. Finally the claim of the Mayurbhañja Rājā was rejected by Warren Hastings, but we do not know which "Nobkisen" or "Gungagovind" prompted the order (13th July, 1782).

This gross injustice led to further alienation of feelings, not unnaturally, of Dāmodar Bhañja and he started guerilla warfare. A petition was received from Harikrishna Chaudhuri, zamindar of Dantan, stating that last year Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja plundered his tenants and took away some buffaloes and this year he wanted to seize some villages belonging to him. This petition was supported by an affidavit by one Rās Bihārī Mazumdār and another by Anuprām Rāy. Rās Bihārī and Jaynārāyaṇ Dās stated that they were with Mr. Cholat (?) when, on the 3rd of Āshāḍh about a thousand foot and some horsemen belonging to Dāmodar Bhañja attacked some villages and plundered and burnt them. Anuprām Rāy states in his affidavit that his *Gumastah* Dhundhirām informed him that Dāmodar's troops came, attacked, and burnt several villages in the month of Āshāḍh. A note, dated Calcutta, the 10th November, 1783, contains the information that a military force was sent to the western frontier of Medinipur to quell the disturbances created by Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja and other Zamindars in the *Thānāh* of Balarampur. The Board of Revenue was directed by the Governor-General on the 17th of November,

[1] The spelling of proper names has been changed so as to be easily recognisable.



Jagannātha Temple, Bāripada
Mayurbhañj State

1783, to determine in what relation Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja of Mayurbhañja stood to the Company's Government of Bengal and the Maratha Government in Orissa. A report received from J. Dynely, Superintendent of Revenue or Collectors, dated 25th November of the same year, contains very valuable information about Dāmodar Bhañja. A report was received by Dynely from Captain Hamilton, who commanded at Jaleswar, that Dāmodar Bhañja was collecting a large force to plunder the Company's districts on the other side of the Suvarṇarekhā and was assisting the Rājā of Bogri. Mudhojī Bhonsle also wanted to crush him. Rājārām Pandit was at Nilgiri with a large army trying to reduce Dāmodar, but he would not succeed. Rājārām applied for flints to Captain Hamilton, but the latter could not supply them. Captain Vincent, who commanded a battalion of the 16th Regiment, wrote to Captain Hamilton that he sent a *Harkarah* to Dāmodar Bhañja, who sent a civil reply. On receiving these reports Warren Hastings as Governor-General in Council wrote to the Board desiring to propose joint action against Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja. Captain Vincent reported that on the 12th December of the same year the *Chuaḍs* of Dampari and Kuliapal had stated that they would discharge their arrears of revenue when Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja would do so. On the 24th December Captain Vincent reported to Dynely that he had received a letter from Dāmodar Bhañja expressing his intention to make terms and pay arrears of revenue and that for this purpose the former intended to proceed to Jānpur the next day. A copy of Captain Vincent's letter was forwarded to the Board on the 17th. A report from Vincent to Dynely

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states that Dāmodar Bhañja plundered the *Parganah* of Jānpur and compelled the Company's zamindar to co-operate with him. Captain Vincent wrote to Rājā Raghunāth Nārāyaṇ of Pachet and Rājā Chaitan Singh of Vishnupur to supply him with provisions on the 19th December. On the 15th January, 1784, Mānikchānd, *Thānahdār*, sent a petition, a copy of which was forwarded to the Board by Dynely. Mānikchānd reported that when he sent out summons to the *Parganah* of Nayabasan Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja caused all inhabitants to desert their homes. His son Balabhadra Bhañja resided at Nayabasan but did not appear. He sent a *Wakil* to state that his master would not be able to appear in person. On the 18th January, 1784, Lieut. Radcliffe reported that Mānikchānd *Thānahdār* requested him to come to Nayabasan to oppose Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja. In his *'Arzī* Mānikchānd states that Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja was ready to pay Rs. 3000 as revenue but as soon as he heard that Captain Vincent had moved to Bogri he evaded payment. Dāmodar Bhañja had married the daughter of Bhubanmaṇi Deī of Kiyāṛchānd in *Thānah* Jānpur and possessed himself of her fort and zamindari and appointed one Dinabandhu Kumār to the charge of the fort. Lieut. Radcliffe wanted to proceed to Nayabasan but permission was refused. In a report dated 1st February, 1784, Radcliffe informed Dynely that he had received a letter from Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja stating that he intended to send his relation Kāśīnāth Bhañja to settle the arrears of revenue, and this person arrived at Nayabasan but evaded appearance. In a second report from Radcliffe dated 24th February he sought permission to cross the Subarṇarekhā as

Mānikchānd informed him that Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja had sent re-inforcements to that place. Dynely informed the Board on the 1st May, 1784, that Chitra Singh, the zamindar of Bogri, surrendered voluntarily to Captain Hamilton and the Chuāḍ chief, Subla Singh of Kuliapal, had been taken prisoner, but Dāmodar Bhañja had not paid any revenue. In a letter dated 15th July, 1784, Dynely sent a petition from Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja to the Board in which the former states that in Mughal times Rs. 1700 was paid as revenue for Nayabasan, Rain and Mowbbadar but it was increased to Rs. 3200 by Mr. Fergusson. Rs. 1000 more was included in this amount as *Nazarānā*. He therefore agreed to pay Rs. 3200 for Nayabasan, etc. Dynely was directed to accept Rs. 3200 annually for these three *Parganahs*.

A letter was received from Morār Pandit about the depredations of Dāmodar Bhañja on pilgrims coming to Puri through his territory. Morār Pandit sent another letter from the Maratha *Ṣūbahdār* at Puri to the same effect. The Marathas now intended to establish another *Chauki* for the collection of Pilgrim Tax from pilgrims to Jagannātha. This was objected to by Dynely and one Serjeant-Major Covencey, but no steps were taken to prevent the establishment of the new *Thānāh* at Narsinghpur, which was between Multāni and Bastah. Dynely wrote to the Board on the 22nd February, sending copy of another letter from Morār Pandit in which the latter states that Dāmodar Bhañja's people oppress the pilgrims. Morār Pandit states that at the request of Dynely he has stopped sending troops to Narsinghpur pass. Peiarce returned to Medinipur and wrote to the Board on the

1st April, 1785, informing the Government of the necessity of sending more troops to the Mayurbhañja frontier. In his letter to Lt.-Col. Fullarton, Peiarce states that it is necessary to send a company of Sepoys to Jānpur and in his letter to Lieut. Dickens he states that he has applied to Lt.-Col. Fullarton for more troops to prevent Dāmodar Bhañja from plundering the English *Parganahs* of Barajit and Jānpur and to release the widow of the deceased zamindar of Kiyāṛchand. In a long letter, dated 19th April, 1785, Peiarce informed the Board that Dāmodar Bhañja paid Rs. 5200 for Nayabasan, Rain and Maubandar for the first two or three years and that last year he wanted to diminish this amount by Rs. 2000. His *Harkarah* was stopped twenty miles on this side of Hariharpur and was not allowed to go to the presence of the Rājā. Peiarce states that he sent *Taḥṣilnāmahs* to Rādhā Mohan, Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja's agent at Nayabasan, to go to the *Thānāhdār* at Jānpur and to Dinabandhu Kumār to go to his *Thānāh*. He further informed the Board that a force of nearly 5000 men was sent against Dāmodar Bhañja by the *Ṣūbāhdār* of Katak but Dāmadar Bhañja got rid of them by the payment of their dues about six weeks ago from *Chalans* of money sent from Nayabasan and other zamindaris. The Collector further recommended that the zamindaris of Dāmodar Bhañja in the British district of Medinipur should be given to some other zamindar or otherwise made *Khāṣ* and held with a company of Sepoys. According to this recommendation Nayabasan etc., were made *Khāṣ*. A *Korokdar* was appointed, supported by an officer and a company of Sepoys (letter dated 2nd June, 1785). On hearing of this order Rājā Dāmodar

Bhañja ordered Jagannāth Singh, his deputy, to pay Rs. 3000 immediately. This intelligence was sent by Lieut. Burnett from Gopīballabhpur on the 19th May, 1785, to Peiarce. We learn from a letter dated 21st May, 1785, from Peiarce to Burnett that Dāmodar Bhañja's arrears of revenue for 1785 and 1783 amounted to Rs. 5767-5-3. Dinabandhu Kumār was ordered to be reminded to return nine cows which his people plundered from the zamindar of Barajit. On receipt of this letter Burnett replied on the 25th that the *Thānahdar* sent a letter to Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja asking him to pay the arrears of revenue within seven or eight days, failing which his *parganah* would be made *Khāṣ*. His manager, Jagannāth Singh, was with Burnett at that time and had paid about Rs. 1000. Burnett heard that Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja owed the Marathas about Rs. 24000 as arrears of tribute. Burnett forwarded a letter from Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja in which the latter stated that he had ordered Jagannāth Ghosh to pay Rs. 3000 immediately. In reply to Dāmodar Bhāñja, Peiarce asked him in a letter without date to settle all arrears of revenue immediately.

A long report was sent by the resident of Jaleswar, Mr. J. L. Chauvet, on the 16th June, 1785, stating that the Marathas still regarded the *parganah* of Beloorichor as their own and continued to demand the revenue from the Rājā of Mayurbhañja, who represented that he was unable to pay it as he had been dispossessed of it by the Company. The Rājā of Mayurbhañja was still prepared to support his claim by force of arms.

The Marathas also claimed the *Purganah* of Laspochour held by Āśārām Chaudhuri. Dynely held an inquiry

during his period of office at Medinipur and sent an *Āmīn* to collect evidence, but the report of the *Āmīn* was favourable to the Marathas. Peiarce stated that after Dynely's departure he had taken up the case. The evidence produced showed that this territory consisted of a number of small pieces of land. Peiarce clearly stated that the admission of the Maratha claim would be prejudicial to British prestige.

Peiarce wrote on the 19th November, 1786, to the Board of Revenue at Calcutta enclosing a communication from Jagannāth Ghosh, *Nāib* of Rājā Dāmodar Bhanja in Nayabasan. In this letter he states that Rs. 379 out of the Rs.1000 agreed upon still remain to be paid and Rs. 722 for the *'Amlī* year 1193 (1786 A. D.), while not a single rupee has been paid for the *qists* of the current year. Jagannāth Ghosh complained of the depredations of one Baliyār Singh, a *Chuāḍ Sardār* in Nayabasan, who paid no regard to the authority of Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja. Peiarce therefore asked the Commanding Officer at Medinipur to send a Company of Sepoys to drive out Baliyār Singh. The petition from Jagannāth Ghosh, *Nāib* of Nayabasan, was received at Medinipur on the 17th November, 1786. It is stated therein that Baliyār Singh became dissatisfied with Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja and went to Nayabasan and on the 27th Kārtik murdered one Śatrughna Digwār and burnt Sutmar and three or four villages and carried off cattle. The tenants fled to other places and therefore the collection of revenue is very much impeded. Along with his letter Peiarce sent to the Board a report from Suttyram Paul (Sītārām Pāl), *Thānāhdār* of Jānpur, stating that on the 29th of Kārtik last he received a report from Jagannāth

Ghosh, *Nāib* of *purganah* Nayabasan, that Baliyār Singh of Gillah Rattah attacked British territory, murdered Śatrughna Digwār of Dumrobally and plundered and burnt Sutma and three or four villages, carrying off cattle and other property of the tenants. On receiving this report Peiarce sent copies to the Board and was ordered to secure the revenues against any impediments and protect the tenants.

The *Bengal District Gazetteer* for Puri names one Śadāśiva Rāo as the successor of Rājārām Mukund Pandit in 1782, but the records prove that Rājārām continued to be in office long after that year till 1789 or 1790. Stirling has stated distinctly that Rājārām Mukund retired in 1200 *Āmli*, that is 1792-93.[1] Forster, who was sent to Nagpur to draw Raghuji Bhonsle II into the infamous triple alliance of 1790 against Tipu Sulṭan, passed through Orissa. His companion Leckie writes of Cuttuck: "The *Sūbāhdār*, as he is styled, has gone to Nagpur whither he is generally summoned once in two or three years to give his accounts."[2] The records available to me contain a series of incidents regarding the South-Western frontier of the British Company's dominions. Mr. C. Burrowes, Collector of Medinipur, wrote to the Board of Revenue on the 13th April, 1789, that the Marathas commited incessant depredations on the tenants of the *Parganah* of Dāntan and killed a servant of the Chaudhuris of that place. In this letter Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja is described as a rebel to the Maratha Government and the chief leader of lawlessness on the border. Burrowes applies for permission to fire in case the Marathas refuse restoration of stolen property.

1 *Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, p. 305.*

2 *British Relations with the Nagpur State in the 18th century, p. 107.*

Translation of three applications or reports from the Hāvildār of guard stationed at Dānton were forwarded. The first report is dated 23rd March and states that the the people of Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja carried away six cows of Govind Prāmāṇik and some cattle from other villages. They likewise carried away a crop of gram from a field belonging to Harekṛishṇa Chaudhuri. On the 25th of March, the second report states they carried off 32 bullocks belonging to Purushottam and Harekrishṇa and paid no heed to remonstrances of the Hāvildār and the Sepoys. The third report is dated the 27th March, on which date three parties of Mayurbhañja troops surrounded three villages and began to discharge arrows and fire matchlocks. Many of the arrows and balls came among the Sepoys and a *Sardār Pāik* of Harekṛishṇa Chaudhuri was killed by a ball. The Board, in forwarding this report with enclosures to the Governor-General in Council, chose to style the ravages committed by Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja as violence committed by the Marathas. (23rd April 1789). By an order of the Governor General in Council the Dāntan guard was ordered to fire (29th April 1719). On the 18th January, 1793, G. Dowdeswell reported to the Board of Revenue that Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja had applied for protection against two Tāluqdārs named Kissen Singh and Arjun Singh of Gelakatia who were obstructing collection of revenue at Nayabasan. Some troops were sent by the Collector to protect the tenants of Nayabasan and when these two Sardārs attacked two villages there was an action in which one British Sepoy was killed and two wounded. The Hāvildār of the Guard applid for reinforcements. Lieut. Collins, the officer of the



The Early Gupta Temple at Nāchnā Cuthārā, Ajaygaḍh State

detachment, was ordered to Nayabasan and information was received that Kissen Singh and Arjun Singh had murdered Herdanund (Hṛidayānanda), the Dīwān of Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja. The Collector requested Collins to arrest the Sardārs and other persons suspected of aiding and abetting them. The Board approved his measures and the Governor-General in Council also acquiesced (1st February, 1793).

There is a gap in the sequence of events which cannot be filled up. On the last occasion we saw that Dāmodar Bhañja had failed to pay revenues for Nayabasan and his three *parganahs* made *Khās* or sequestrated. Now we find him regarded as a loyal zamindar in whose aid troops were sent against refractory hill Tālukdārs. Evidently he had paid up his arrears of revenue and therefore was replaced as zamindar of Nayabasan, Rain and Maubandar. Dowdeswell wrote again on the 30th January regarding Kissen Singh and Arjun Singh. The report from Collins dated 29th January contained the information that these Sardārs plundered the village of Nagule about three days ago. Two small parties were sent to Bolah and Mypaul belonging to these two Sardārs, where they were attacked and rescued on the arrival of Collins. The depredators left about 120 or 130 cattle behind and the Sepoys burnt the villages. The next morning some tenants who had joined the rebels returned. On hearing of the firing Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja sent some of his pāiks and desired Collins to sell the cattle and to give the proceeds of sale to the Sepoys. Dowdeswell replied on the 30th requesting Collins to arrest Kissen Singh and Arjun Singh. The entire

correspondence was forwarded by the Board to the Governor-General in Council on the 15th February and the latter ordered on the 22nd that action taken by the Collector of Medinipur was approved.

Dowdeswell wrote on the 30th April, 1793, stating that an advertisement was issued directing Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja to deliver himself up in person but that he had failed to do so. It was rather impertinent even for Cornwallis to order a semi-independent Chief under a separate independent king to deliver himself in person simply because he happened to be a land-holder also under the British. Such an order is equivalent to asking a Khugiani chief to appear in person and stand trial in a British court at Peshawar simply because he possessed a house in that city. The Collector's letter was forwarded by the Board on the 8th May, 1793, and the latter ordered that the zamindari of Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja might continue to be under attachment. In the meanwhile, Dāmodar Bhañja employed an attorney named Ledlie to write to Dowdeswell. The latter wrote to the Board of Revenue on the 20th February, 1794, enclosing copies of the correspondence. Ledlie was instructed to apply to Dowdeswell for some elephants, horses, jewels and cloths which were forcibly taken away by some British troops from the Rājā's house at Barikooshy near Medinipur (letter dated 28th January, 1794). The Governor-General in Council decided that Mr. Ledlie was not entitled to interfere in this matter (letter dated 28th February, 1794). John Stonehouse, Collector of Medinipur, informed the Board of Revenue on the 23rd November, 1795, that a report had been sent from the *Tahṣildār* of Jānpur or Jahānpur regarding disturbances caused by

mutinous Sepoys and the troops of Dāmodar Bhañja. Benoderām Sen, *Tahṣildār* of Jahānpur, reported that on the 27th Kārtik of the *Faslī* year 1203 :the mutineers from the British army had joined Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja and were at Oania with Pikera Booma (? Bhuiyan *i.e.*, Raghunath Pikera), zamindar of Fort Kelar. Dāmodar Bhañja had collected *pāiks* and *Chuāḍs* and posted them at different places at the frontier. The houses of Uchchhav Pariyāri and Sāgar Buniya had been plundered and one Dhīr Singh of *purganah* Barajit wounded while defending his house. His brother's wife was struck with a hatchet and Dhīr Singh died of his wounds. The *Tahṣildār* had distributed *pāiks* for the defence ot the tenants. On the 27th November the Board of Revenue directed these communications to be laid before the Governor-General in Council. After a long and stormy career Dāmodar Bhañja died and his favourite concubine also died about the same time. The intelligence of the death of this turbulent chief was received from a Musalman police officer named Mir Muḥammad Saiyad and transmitted by Stonehouse, Collector of Medinipur, in his letter dated 7th April, 1796, to Calcutta.

We must now go back to other events in Orissa, some of which happened nine or ten years before the death of Dāmodar Bhañja.

We must now go back to 1787 in order to narrate the events connected with Raghunāth Pikerā, zamindar of Kalar and Barajit, another *parganah* like Nayabasan on the borders of Bengal and Orissa. It appears from these records that Rājārām Mukund was still the *Subāhdār* of Orissa in 1782. Peiarce, the Collector of Medinipur,

writing on the 29th May, 1787, states that Raghunāth Pikerā (spelt Pykaran, also Raghunath Chooyan) of Kelar, a zamindar in Maratha territory, had started depredations in the British *parganahs* Gaganeśwar and Narangachor and representation had been received from the zamindars of these places. Raghunāth was also a zamindar in British territory like Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja of Mayurbhañja, and Peiarce complained that he sent a *parwanah* with a *Harkarāh* to which Raghunāth did not pay any heed and therefore a *Hāvildār* and twelve Sepoys were placed as a *Thānāh* on the border. The letter from the Collector encloses an application from Rājballabh Chaudhurī of Gaganeśwar in *Chāklāh* Jaleśwar in which it is stated that property and cattle belonging to the tenants of Lakshmīpur, Seypoorah and six other villages were carried away. Moreover, when the *Harkarāh* went with the Collector's *Parwanah*, Raghunāth refused to meet him and a *Tahṣildār* on the part of Rājārām Pandit said that the lands of Rājballabh Chaudhurī belonged to the Marathas. A similar petition was received about the depredations committed by Raghunāth in the *Parganah* of Narangachor. The Board approved of the action taken by the Collector for the protection of *parganahs* Narangachor and Gaganeswar. On the 9th June, 1787, Peiarce forwarded copies of letters written to him by Madde Khān, Maratha *Thānāhdār* of Kelar, and and that written by him to Rājārām Mukund. In this letter Piearce begins by stating that Raghunāth Pikerā was supported by Madde Khān, who has been sent to Kelar by the *Faujdār* of Ballasore. The second information was that some lands on the border were relinquished

by the English Company in favour of Biśvambhar Pandit. In the letter from Madde Khān, dated the 23rd May, 1787, the latter calls himself *Thānāhdār* of Qila' Nayāgāon Khalār. It begins with the statement that he has been appointed by Rājārām Pandit. The second statement is that Rājballabh Chaudhuri has possessed himself of Chinkā Chak by force, though it belongs to the Marathas. Peiarce was requested to send an *Āmin* to inquire into the matter. The second enclosure to the Collector's letter was from Morār Pandit, *Faujdār* of Balasore, and is dated the 23rd May, 1787. It begins with the statement that Madde Khān is employed by him as *Tahṣildar* of Qila' Nayāgaon Khelar. Morar Pandit complains that Raghunāth Pikerā of Khelār and Jhumrāpār and Dinabandhu Kumār of Qila' Dip Kiyārchānd have kept back revenue on account of encroachments on the part of the English. The Collector is further requested to help Madde Khān with ten or twenty Sepoys, if he calls for them. Peiarce replied to Madde Khān on the 29th May, 1787, stating that Rājballabh Chaudhurī had been in possession of Chinkā Chak for eighteen years and as a *Lādābī* was executed by Raghunāth Pikerā, he had no claim to it now. Two letters were written to Morār Pandit, one about Chinkā Chak and another about the depredations in British territory. On the 4th June a letter was sent to Rājārām Pandit regarding the complaints of Rājballabh Chaudhuri of Gaganeśwar and Rāmnārāyan Chaudhuri of Narangachor about the depredations of Raghunāth Pikerā. A second report was sent by Peiarce on the 12th July, 1787, forwarding a report of *Āmin* Lakshmī Charan dated 8th June, 1787. The *Āmin* states that he saw Pikerā's *Pāiks* plundering the village of

Ghogra, threatening the villagers with fire-arms. They took Agni Sāhu, *Sarbarāhkār* of the Company, as a prisoner to *Thānāh* Bhusrapāl. Raghunāth Pikerā has collected the rents of Asāpāl belonging to Rāmnārāyan Chaudhuri. In former times also he created great disturbances and Messrs. Dusful and Davey were sent to Bhusrapāl to punish him. The report ends with the statement that the stolen cattle had not been returned as yet. Peiarce sent a *parwanah* to Lakshmī Charan *Āmin* on the 9th June, upbraiding him sharply for his inaction and ordering him to write immediately to release Agni Sāhu. Morār Pandit wrote on the 11th of the same month requesting the early settlement of the district surrounding Lakshmipur, stating that he had sent *parwanas* to Madde Khān and Raghunāth Pikerā. To this a reply was sent on the 14th June stating that Dattarām Chaudhurī, father of Rājaballabh Chaudhurī, had been given the villages of Ghogra, Lakshmīpur, etc., in lieu of Ḥamidpur and therefore Raghunāth Pikerā executed a *Lādābī*. A report of Lakshmī Charan *Āmin*, dated 22nd June, 1787, contains the information that Mudde Khān came to Gopīnāthpur and had a long conference with him. Agni Sāhu had been released. A letter was received from Mudde Khān stating that Raghunāth Pikerā stated that when he was an infant Dhunḍirām Qānungoe and Kālicharan Rāo got *Qabūliats* made by influencing the Ḥākim. Rāmkānu Beburta, *Nāib* of Raghunāth Pikerā, stated that Karṇakar, the *Wakīl* of Dattarām Chaudhurī, had disputes regarding the settlement of this boundary. On hearing this statement Lakshmi Charan *Āmin* was requested to settle the dispute. but he pleaded that he had no orders from the Collector. A

reply was sent to this letter on the 6th July, 1787, stating that Madde Khān's statement about the matter being referred to Mr. Vansittart was stated to be false.

Copies of correspondence received from Rājārām Pandit was sent by Peiarce to the Board of Revenue on the 30th August, 1787. In his letter dated 13th July Rājārām Pandit states that he had sent a *parwanah* to the zamindar of Kelār and a letter to Morār Pandit to the same purpose. The *parwanah* is dated 7th Ramẓān, 1194, and it orders the zamindar of Kelār to return the stolen cattle immediately. But Raghunāth Pikerā paid very little attention to the *parwanah* from the *Ṣūbāhdār* of Orissa. Lakshmi Charan *Amin* reported to Peiarce that Raghunāth Pikerā did not pay any attention to the *parwanah* taken to him by Mir Kānu Jamādār and Nawāb-ud-din *Harkarāh*. The report of these two, dated 8th August, 1787, states that on arriving at Khelār they found Raghunāth bathing in a tank. He desired them to sit down and then failed to reappear. They went to Bhuban Mahāpātra, who said he had nothing to do with Barajeet, and asked them to go to Brindāban and Hāru Pāṭnāyak. So they went to these people, who refused to receive the *parwanah* of the Collector and Rājārām Pandit. Three days later they went to Madde Khān, who also received them unfavourably. On the 28th January, 1788, the Governor-General in Council directed the Board of Revenue to confiscate the Purganah of Barajeet held by Raghunāth Pikerā. Burrowes, the next Collector of Medinipur, reported on the 26th June, 1788, that the revenue due on account of Barajeet amounted to Rs. 346-11-11. The same Collector reported on the 17th of August, 1790, that the Sepoys of the English Company

had to fire to stop the depredations of Raghunāth Pikerā. He sent a translation of a letter from Morār Pandit protesting against firing on tenants of Raghunāth Pikerā when they went to cultivate in the village of Garhiyapota. Morār Pandit also sent a copy of a letter from the *Dīwān* stating that on this occasion four or five tenants were hit with balls and arrows. On receiving this representation the Hāvildār of the guard was directed to use 'every means in his power to protect the tenants without proceeding to the extremity of firing. On the 22nd of April the Collector of Medinipur notes that he received two letters from Raghunāth Pikerā to the *Sarbarāhkār*s and tenants of Nalvee, Darinda, Nalband, etc., informing them that these villages were mortgaged to him and therefore the rents must be paid to him alone. The same officer notes on the 6th January, 1790, that on the 6th March Raghunāth Pikerā's people plundered the villages of Lapu and Konkonda and wounded two men. On the 6th at mid-day they carried away one hundred and sixteen heads of cattle. This was done by way of retaliation on Raghunāth Pikerā's enemy, Dinabandhu Kumār, to whom these villages supplied provisions. The officer of the guard was reprimanded for not preventing this incident. On the 10th June, 1790, there is a note about the guard firing on Raghunāth Pikera's men and a report from the Hāvildār that he has only 160 rounds of ammunitions left and that Raghunāth was coming to plunder the *parganah* with 500 men. The Collector ordered the commanding officer to supply fresh ammunition. Mīr Basant, Hāvildār, reported another incident at Gawseer Chawk. He states that on the 13th *Jaiṭh*, Madde Khān



Details of the *Vimāna* of the Liṅgarāja
View from the South

Thānahdār, Umid Khān, Jamādār, with five horse-men and Rāmbihārī Sardār with 250 *pāiks* came and took away twelve ploughs, twenty-four bullocks and surrounded three Sepoys who were with them. Then Mīr Basant Khān came up with the rest of his party and remonstrated with Madde Khān, who then surrendered the plundered property. Rāmbihārī then threatened to plunder more. Again on the 18th of *Jaiṭh*, Madde Khān, Umid Khān and Rāmbihārī came to Gawseer Chowk but retired on the Hāvildār's remonstration. But those three went by another road plundered the guard-room, captured the Hāvildār's son and carried away three tenants. Mīr Basant followed them but was fired upon and the English Sepoys replied. The firing lasted for three hours, during which one Sepoy and two *Pāiks* were wounded by balls and arrows. On receiving this report Burrowes ordered Hāvildār Shaikh Rosbun (Rustam) Jamādār to remain at Gawseer Chowk and to use fire arms in cases of extreme necessity. A copy of a letter received from Morār Pandit was forwarded by Borrowes to the Board of Revenue on the 2nd September, 1790. In this letter Morār Pandit says that the affair of Gawseer Chowk was due to the thoughtlessness and ignorance of Raghunāth Pikerā, who was a jungle zamindar. Barajeet was put up for sale, but nobody appeared to purchase it and no people remained to meet the *Thānahdār* of Jahānpur. Later on, Burrowes reported to the Board of Revenue that the purchaser of the *purganah* of Barajeet prayed to be put in possession of it. The tenants of the *purganah* fled and the purchaser requested protection against Maratha raids. The purchaser also reported that the villages of Nayāpāl and Malanpāl

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were cultivated by Raghunāth Pikerā's tenants. When the tenants of Barajeet went to cut their harvest they were opposed by armed people to the extent of one thousand. As the Hāvildār of the guard had no order to fire, these people plundered the guard-house and went away. The Board ordered Burrowes to compell the purchaser's *Gumashtah* to pay the arrears of revenue for Barajeet, as it was suspected that his representations were not quite correct.

Writing on the 12th April, 1791, Burrowes states that in his opinion Morār Pandit was more disposed to encourage Raghunāth Pikerā than to repress him. He forwarded a *Ruidād Zabūnbandī* from *parganah* Barajeet, dated 7th Chaitra 1198 *'Amlī*, of Śivacharan Bose *Thānahdār*, Kuśarām Majumdār *Gumashtah*, the *Ṣadar Chaudhurī*, Chhaku Navat, Udan Singh Hāvildār and Nolam Pāl. They state that they called the *Gumashtah* of the displaced zamindars before them, who stated that the English Company's guard house stood at that place and *Dīwān* Bhuban Mahāpātra and Hāru Pāṭnāik *Sheristadar* of the zamindar said that they themselves had burnt the guard-house. When asked why they were creating disturbances in the villages of Molampāl, Naispāl, Kubabisaji and Qila' Barajeet, they answered that these villages they will keep and that they possessed 1000 good *talwārs* which will be employed in the protection of these villages. Śivacharam Bose, etc., then placed a mark at the place where the guard-house stood and ordered the Hāvildār to build another guard-house. When the guard-house was being erected the deplaced zamindar, *i.e.*, Raghunāth Pikerā, came with horsemen, *Barquandāzes*

and *Pāiks* to the extent of four or five hundred men, ready to attack the English party. As night came on Śivacharam Bose, etc., retired to the zamindar's Kāchhāri. Raghunāth Pikerā collected about 1500 men and surrounded the British party. Śivacharan Bose states that he tried to pacify the people and waited for orders. Burrowes sent copies of these statements to Morār Pandit, stating that strict orders had been received to fire upon Raghunāth Pikerā's people if they created a disturbance. The Officer of the guard was ordered to proceed with the erection of the guard-house and adhere to the instructions received regarding firing in case of extreme necessity. Morār Pandit in his letter to Burrowes states that the zamindari of Barajeet held by Raghunāth Pikerā was "under the care of Mahā Rājā Leeta Behader," a term which cannot be understood. Even if it stands for Mahārājā Senā or Sītā Bahādur, it cannot be identified. Morār Pandit states that the English had taken the *parganah* of Barajeet without making any enquiry and without reason and wanted to place another zamindar in the place of Raghunāth Pikerā. He states further that Raghunāth Pikerā has been written to go to Medinipur and pay his revenue (letter, dated 28th Rajab, 1198 *Amli*).

Dowdeswell wrote from Medinipur, on the 15th of March, 1793, that as an order had been issued for the arrest of Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja, the latter had fled to the hilly parts of his principality with 600 armed men. Dāmodar Bhañja paid revenue irregularly, but he was still in possession of Nayabasan, and even at that date the Collector of Medinipur recommends the attachment of his

zamindari in British territory. On the 20th of March, 1793, the same officer forwarded an extract of a report received from the Officer Commanding the detachment in *Thānah* Jahānpur or Jānpur. We find from this report that three or four parties of Dāmodar Bhañja's soldiers and *Chuāṛs* had been posted around the *Thānah* with permission from the Rājā to plunder. They took away two bullocks for the carriage of spare ammunition from near Gopīballabhpur and two men travelling with the bullocks were killed. He has received re-inforcements and will be able to assist the *Tahṣildār*. The same officer, whose name was Lieut. O'Donell, sent a second report, a copy of which was forwarded to the Board of Revenue by the Collector on the 22nd. O'Donell states in the second report that Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja and his people are frightening away tenants from their villages and these people are flying into Dholbhum. A sepoy was sent in disguise and brought the report that there was a large *chaukī* of Rājā's soldiers nearby. The Board directed the Collector of Medinipur to attack his zamindari and sent the correspondence to the Governor-General in Council for orders. Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, ordered, on the 29th March, 1793, the attachment of the zamindari of Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja unless he delivered himself up within twelve days. Another report from Lieut. O'Donell, dated Gopīballabhpur the 27th May, 1793, was forwarded to the Board of Revenue by Dowdeswell on the 29th. O'Donell reports that on that date he received an Oṛiya letter from the Jamādar of a party of Maratha horse and foot stating that he had received orders to take possession of the place and inquiring whether the English Commander had any

objection to that. O'Donell requested him to draw back and sent for orders. Dowdeswell wrote immediately on the 29th to O'Donell asking about the strength of the Maratha detachment and ordering him to repel any encroachment on the Company's territories. At that time the Maratha detachment was at a place called Sasura, which Dowdeswell regarded as being "dependent on the Company's territory." The Governor-General in Council approved the steps taken by Dowdeswell in the discharge of his duties (letter, dated 7th June, 1793).

We learn from a letter of the President and the Member of the Board of Revenue dated the 31st May, 1796, that immediately before his death Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja "Abdicated his Estate in consequence of measures taken by the late Acting Collector to bring him to trial for offences with which he stood charged of a Public and Criminal nature since which his Estate has been continued under the immediate charge of the officers of the Government." In this letter the Board asks for instructions about the restoration of the property of Dāmodar Bhañja to his heirs. In the meanwhile, J. A. Stonehouse, Collector of Medinipur, forwarded an appliciation from the Rāṇī of Hariharpur. The application gives the date of the death of Dāmodar Bhañja as 22nd Chaitra 1203, *Faslī*. The Rāṇī, Sumitrā Deī, stated that her husband bequeathed his estate to her and the Maratha *Faujdar* assembled all Qila'dārs and zamindars and they placed her on the *Masnad*. She now applied for the release of the *Parganah* of Nayabasan held *khāṣ* by the Company. One Mohan Lāl Ghosh has been sent by her to Medinipur as her *Wākīl*. On the 21st December 1797, J. Imhoff, Collector of Medinipur,

forwarded the petition from Sumitrā Deī recommending that Nayabasan should be given to Sumitrā Deī. The petition and the letter were forwarded to the Governor-General in Council by the Board of Revenue and the latter also recommended that Nayabasan should be given as an *Ijārā* only for the present to Sumitrā Deī and to confirm it as a zamindari if she conducted herself well (Letter, dated 1st November, 1799).

We must now go back to events in the Mayurbhañja State following the death of Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja. Stonehouse, the Collector of Medinipur, writing on the 28th May, 1796, states that he sent an order to the *Thānahdār* of Jānpur or Jahānpur asking him to make enquiries regarding the Mayurbhañja State. The latter reports that Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja left eleven married wives, four of whom immolated themselves with their husband. Before his death the Rājā ordered that the *Pāṭrānī* Sumitrā, should be placed on the *masnad*. Dāmodar Bhañja left no children and Sumitrā Deī was about 35 years of age. The nearest relation of Dāmodar Bhañja was one Sureśwar Bhañja, whose grandfather was a brother of Dāmodar Bhañja's grandfather. His age was about thirty, but as he was illegitimate the late Rajā never used to eat with him. One Bairāgi Bhañja (spelt Birhaggy Bhañja) was also a relation of Dāmodar Bhañja, but not on good terms with him. He was adopted as a third son (*Rāvat Rāi)*, he was thirty-five years of age and was acquainted with business, which Sureśwar Bhañja was not. This Bairāgi was appointed by Sumitrā Deī as the manager of her concerns.

On the first July 1796 the zamindari of Nayabasan was

refused to Rāṇi Sumitrā Dei by the Governor-General in Council. In a letter, dated 17th September, 1803, the Secretary to the Government agreed to the suspension of arrears of revenue due from her, about Rs. 1500, on account of the present crisis. This proves that Nayabasan had been restored to Sumitrā Dei. Evidently this was one of the measures previously adopted for the destruction of the Maratha Empire, when step by step the Marquess of Wellesley made ready to destroy Maratha supremacy in India. The destruction of Tipu was completed in 1799. The Niẓām was despoiled of the districts gained by him after the last war with Mysore. The English became secure on the South and the Western flanks of the Peshwa's territory. Nay, the whole western flank was at the disposal of the English, as after the first subsidiary treaties the dominions of the Niẓām and the Gaikwāḍ of Baroda lay at the mercy of the English Company. By the totally unjustified mulction of the Nawāb Sa'adat 'Alī Khān of Lucknow of the *Ṣūbahs* of Allahabad and Kora and of the province of Rohilkhand, recently conquered by his English friends, British frontiers became contiguous with those of Mahārāja Daulat Rao Śinde, the most dangerous enemy of the British in India. As a conciliatory measure the Governor-General consented, on the 7th of November, to the proposal from the Board of Revenue about restoring Nayabasan to Rāṇi Sumitrā Dei. The Board reported on the 14th of November, 1800, that Rāṇi Sumitrā Dei had punctually discharged the public revenue but as she possessed large territories in the Maratha kingdom it could not be expected that she would come and reside in British Territory. The Board therefore recommended that

a *sanad* for the zamindari of Nayabasan, etc., should be granted to Sumitrā Deī. All this formality was needless. The cession of the zamindari of Nayabasan to Sumitrā Deī, whose husband, Rāja Dāmodar Bhañja, had forfeited it, was the first step towards the conquest of Orissa, just as the conquest of Mysore and the mulction of Allahabad, Kora and Rohilkhand were of the Third Maratha War.

Information about Orissa is very meagre in the *Bakhar* of the Nagpur Bhonsles compiled by Kāshi Rāo Rājeśwar Gupte. We know from this that when Biśvambhar Pant was the *Wakīl* of Raghujī II at Calcutta, it was reported to Raghujī that he, Biśvambhar, did not always act in accordance with the instructions of his chief. It was proposed to send Dāgājī Raghunāth in his place. In the month of November Vyankajī Bhonsle *alias* Manyā Bāpu and his mother Chimā Bāī went on pilgrimage to Puri and spent a year on the journey. Chimā Bāī found that four *Sardārs viz.*, Raghunāth Śeshādri, Bhup Singh, Bahrām Khān and Shāh Nawāz Khān (spelt Shahaban Khān) had remained in possession of Bārabāṭi fort since the days of the *Ṣūbahdār*ship of Rājārām Mukund Pandit. By paying them one lakh of rupees in lieu of arrears of pay these four *Sardrās* were removed from the possession of the court. They were employed by *Sena Bahādur* (*i.e.*, Raghujī II) in the campaign of Sholāpur. Raghujī himself accompanied his mother as far as Bāndhā (? Banda). Mudhojī's second wife Kamaḷajābāī also accompanied the party. In the presenee of Bālājī Pant Kāṇher, one Amṛita Rāo Ḍhage was appointed commandant of Bārabāṭi fort, the citadel of Katak and Vyankājī Sakadev was appointed to settle the province, which may mean that he was appointed *Ṣūbahdār*



The Great Temple of Mundeśvari, Front and Side
Bhabua Sub-Division, District Arrah

of Orissa. There is no mention of Sadāśiva Rāo in this record. In fact, the only record mentioning Sadāsiva Rāo is a *parwanah* sent to him by Raghujī II in *fasli* 1200 or 1793, in which he is called Sadāśiva Rājārām, thus proving the accuracy of Stirling that he was the son of Rājārām Mukund Pandit. At the request of Colebrooke, who was then at his Court, Raghujī wrote strongly about the depredations of the Maratha subjects of Pataspur on the British *parganah* of Partabbhān who carried away seven men and still detained two. A copy of this *parwanah* was sent to Vyankāji Tirumal *Phadnīs*, *Dīwān* of Orissa at Katak. Vyankāji Sakadev has become Inkāji Sukhdeo of the English Records, just as Viṭṭhal Rāo became Eetul Rao in Franklin's Shāh 'Alam. The pilgrimage of Chimā Bāi and her co-wife Kamaḷajābāi took place in the winter of *Fasli* 1208, *i.e.*, 1797-98. Therefore, it is certain that the *Ṣūbahdār*ship of Sadāśiva Rāo began some time after 1792 and ended before 1797. Bālāji Kāṇher is perhaps the same as Bālāji Konji of the *Bengal District Gazetteer*. Nineteenth Century writers like Beames did not even care to consult Marathi Records published in their times. Gupte's *Bakhar* of the Nagpur Bhonsles was published in the Mārāṭhi monthly *Kavy-Etihāsa Saṇgraha* for March, 1883, yet Beames puts one Chimnāji[1] Bālā as the successor of Sadāśiva Rāo without stating any reason or giving any reference. Stirling's knowledge was far more limited but the information given by him is more accurate, as he wrote within a quarter of a century of the British conquest of Orissa. This can be proved by the name "Bālāji Kunwar,"

[1] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LII, 1883, Part I, p. 246.*

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the commandant of Bārabāṭi fort, as the principal military officer in Orissa. It was Stirling who mentions that after the retirement of Rājārām Mukund Pandit in *Āmli* 1200=1793 A.D., his son Sadāśiva Rāo was appointed *Ṣūbahdār* of Orissa but the affairs of the province were conducted by Vyankājī Sakadev, the *Phaḍnis* and Bālājī Kāṇher.[1] Stirling continues to state that: "In this state things were found in 1803 when the province was conquered by the English army." This however is not correct, because we find that in *Fasli* 1208=1797 A. D. Vyankājī Sakadev was appointed *Ṣūbahdār* and Bālājī Kānher, the commandant of the forces. When Raghuji II's mother Chimā Bāī went to Puri, then Colebrooke was sent as British envoy to obtain permission for a British army to march through Orissa from Raghujī II by lulling him into a trust which proved to be the undoing of the Bhonsles at Assaye, Argaon, and Sitabaldi. Hastings had paved the way for the passage of the British armies through Orissa and another British army passed through Orissa in *Fasli* 1209 or 1798. According to Wills, Colebrooke arrived at Nagpur on the 18th March 1799.[2] He remained at Nagpur till 1800, when Wellesley started sending out proposals for the now notorious Subsidiary Alliance, which Raghujī II very wisely refused. At last Colebrooke asked for his recall and left Nagpur on the 18th of May, 1801. The last statement about Orissa in the *Bakhar* of the Bhonsles of Nagpur is the return of Chimā Bāī and Vyankājī Bhonsle from Puri. Affairs in Orissa languished as all affairs of Raghujī Bhonsle II did in all other parts of India. After the

1 *Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, p. 305.*

2 *British relations with the Nagpur States, in the 18th century, p. 153.*

death or retirement of Vyaṅkāji Sakadev from Orissa Bālāji Kaṇher became the *Ṣūbahdār* or *de facto* Governor till the British conquest in 1803 and the *Calcutta Gazette* for the 12th January, 1804, records a grand ball given in his palace on Christmas day, 1803.

We must defer the narrative of the British conquest of Orissa till the beginning of the next chapter and turn our attention to the *faineant* Gajapatis of Khurda. Vīrakisora I died in 1779-80 during the period of office of Rājārām Mukund Pandit. He ruled at least thirty-five years, as a copy of a sale-deed preserved by Toynbee proves.[1] Stirling states that Rājārām Mukund Pandit was the first Maratha *Ṣūbahdār* of Orissa who succeeded in exacting a tribute from the *faineant* Gajapatis of Khurda. After a long reign Vīrakiśora I became a raving lunatic and murdered four of his own children. There was a general outcry against him throughout the country. Rājārām Mukund seized this opportunity, captured Vīrakiśora and threw him into prison in Bārabāṭi fort. His grandson, Divya Siṁha Deva, was acknowledged as his successor on agreeing to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 10000.[2] This Divya Siṁha II ruled at least for eighteen years, as Stirling has translated a deed of sale of the 17th *Āṅka* of this king,[3] Divya Siṁha II was succeeded by his son Mukund Deva II, who was the last *faineant* Gajapati of Orissa at the time of the British conquest of the province.

1 *Journal of the Āsiatic Society of Bengal 1898, Vol. LXVII., Part I, p. 383.*

2 *Āsiatic Researches, Vol. XV, p. 304.*

3 *Journal of the Āsiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXVII, pp. 383-4.*

Stirling has preserved certain extracts of the Revenue Settlement of Maratha *Ṣūbahdārs* of Orissa which give us some idea of the gradual restoration of prosperity to the province after the Mughal-Maratha struggle of 1740-51 :

I. Śivarām Bhaṭṭa Sāṭhe :
Gold Mohurs 231-0
Rupees of sorts 3,82,829-8-0
Kauris *Kāhans* 27,82,446-1-0

II. Sambhājī Ganeś :
Ashrafīs 11-0
Rupees of sorts 5,01,394-15-0
Kauris *Kāhans* 42,37,666-0

III. Rājārām Mukund Pandit :
Rupees of Sorts 1,10,318-14
Kauris *Kāhans* 53,37,685-0

IV. Vyankājī Sakadev :
Rupees of sorts 1,51,435-0
Kauris *Kāhans* 57,78,224-0.

In 1803 the rate of conversion was four Kāhans to the rupee. Therefore, excluding the few gold coins received by Śivarām Bhaṭṭa Sāṭhe and Sambhājī Ganeś, the revenue collected by the Marathas from the Mughalbandi of Orissa was :

I. Śivarām Bhaṭṭa Sāṭhe Rs. 10,78,441
II. Sambhājī Ganeś Rs. 15,60,811-7-0
III. Rājārām Mukund Pandit Rs. 14,44,740-2-0
IV. Vyankājī Sakadev Rs. 15,95,991

Stirling gives the estimated revenue under the Marathas (*Takṣim Jama*) as follows :

Tashkhis Bhoonsla, or fixed and regular Jamma under the Government of the Nagpur Raja, Rs. 2,42,236-10
Couris, Kahans 47,36,803-0

Mehalat	Viz.	
	Rupees	Couris Kahans
Mehalat and Thanehjat (Khaleseh Land)	2,24,079-7-0	36,42,978-0
Tribute of the Zamindareh or Killajat Estates,	18,157-3-0	10,93,825-0
	Rs. 2,42,236-10-0	K.47,36,803-0

Dakhil Sircar or remitted to the Raja's Treasury at Nagpore, calculated in Rupees of sorts	6,00,000
Kharch Sipahan o ghyre, expenses of troops and management do. do.	9,00,000
Total Rs.	15,00,000

Equal (about) to Sa. Rs. 13,50,000.[1]

According to Stirling the estimate of revenue under the Nawāb Naẓims of Bengal was *Kāhans* 59,61,499-8 *i. e.* Rupees 14,90,375-4-0. This was a great decrease from the estimated revenue of thirty-seven lakhs of rupees under the emperor Aurangzeb.[2] In the time of Śivarāṁ Bhaṭṭa the revenue of Orissa barely paid the expenses of the army of occupation. In the time of Sambhāji Gaṇeś the revenue was a little more than that of the Nawāb Nāzims. It sank to the later Mughal level in the time of Rājārām Mukund Pandit, probably on account

[1] *Asiatic Researches Vol. XV, pp. 215-17.*

[2] *See ante.*

of the Civil War between Mudhojī and Sābājī, when many parts of Orissa passed out of Maratha hands ; but under Vyankājī Sakadev the revenue rose once more, testifying to the prosperity of the province under the Marathas. In 1822 the Garhjat Chiefs paid a fixed tribute of Rs. 1,20,411. This must have been much more under the Marathas, as Mayurbhañj paid Rs. 6000 to them, while it pays only Rs. 1001 to the British. Stirling praises Rājārām Mukund Pandit as a good administrator. "His personal qualities and abilities were respectable, and, coupled with his extensive local knowledge, lent a character of dignity and stability to his administration, with which no preceding one had been invested."[1] The principal measure ascribed to him is that of setting aside all hereditary Chaudhuris and *Wilāyiti* Qānungoes, *i. e.*, the Tāluqdars or zamindars, and collecting the revenue through officers appointed by him either direct from the tenants or from the headmen of villages.

It was the fashion of early British writers and is, to some extent, that of modern writers also, to revile the Marathas and their administration. Stirling in 1825, O'Malley in 1908 and even the sedate Wills in 1926 could not refrain from abusing Maratha administration in Orissa. O'Malley quotes Stirling : "The administration of the Marathas in this, as in every other part of their foreign conquests, was fatal to the welfare of the people and prosperity of the country ; and exhibits a picture of misrule, anarchy, weakness, rapacity, and violence combined, which makes one wonder how society can have kept together under so calamitous a tyranny. An underling of the

1 *I Ibid., p. 304.*

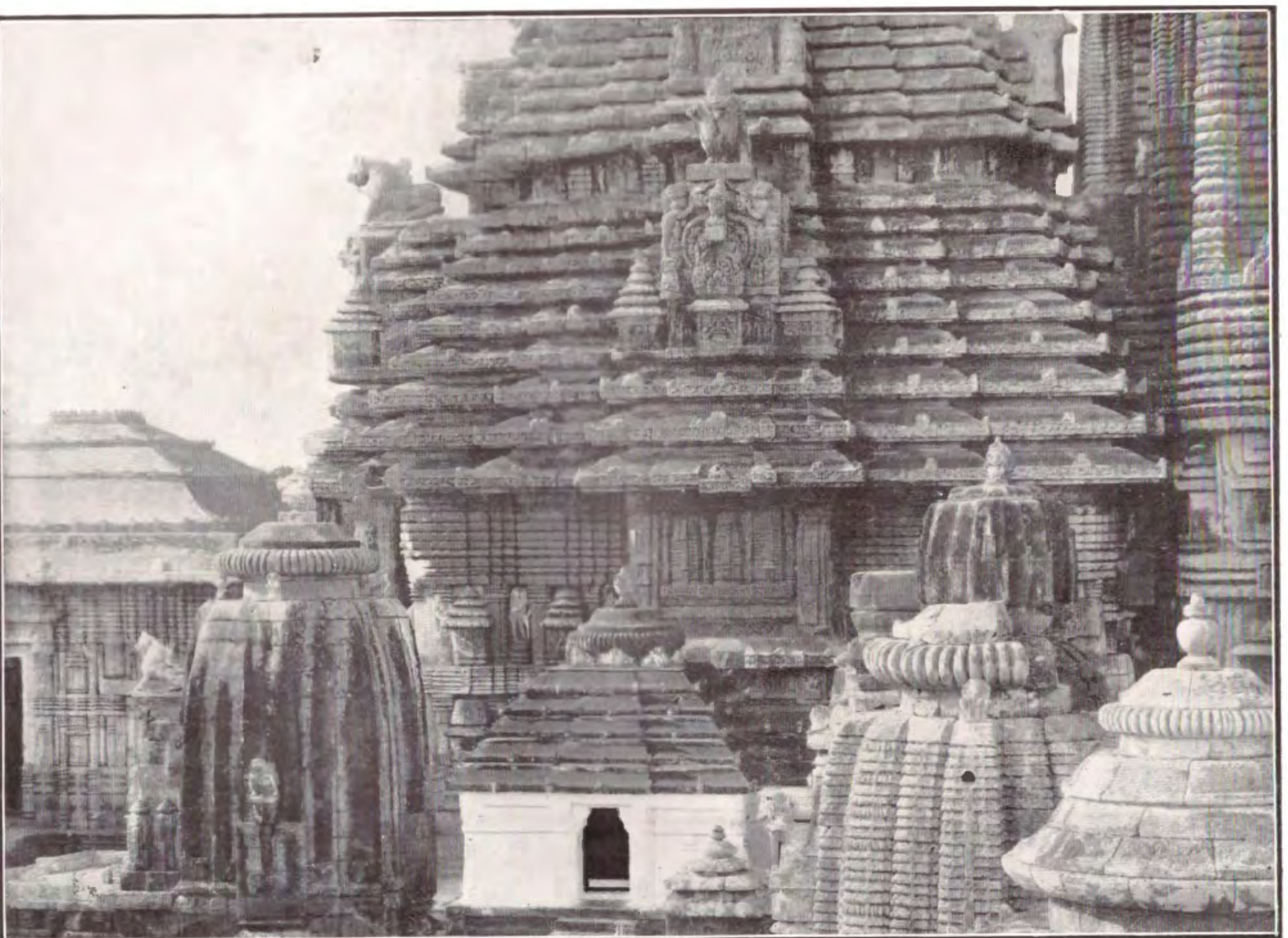
governor entered a village, called the people together, and ordered one man to give him so many *pans* or *Kāhans* of couris, and another so many. If the people did not at once pay they were first beaten with sticks, and if that would not do, they were afterwards tortured."[1] Stirling forgot the terrible oppression of the zamindars and tenants of Bengal in the time of Nawāb Nāẓim Murshid Qūli Khān Nāṣiri who created a special *Vaikuṇṭha* for torturing zamindars for the purpose of extortion. Many respectable zamindars and Rajas of Bengal died in this *Vaikuṇṭha* and the remainder were released by Shuja'-ud-din Muḥammad Khān in 1725-26.

Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri, pp. 40-41.

APPENDIX III.

SAMBHAJI GANESH KHANDEKAR

Chance led me to correspond with Mr. Ganpatrao Gopal Khandekar of Harasidhi gate, Ujain, and thus to the discovery of the real name of Sambhāji Ganeś, at one time *Subha* of Orissa. As Kāsirao Rājesvar Gupte's *Bakhar*, edited by Vāman Dāji Ok and published by Kāsi Nāth Nārāyaṇ Sāne of the Deccan College, Poona, is extremely rare in Northern India, I had to apply to Mr. Govind Sakhāram Sardesai for it. Mr. Sardesai kindly requested Mr. Khandekar to lend me an incomplete copy of the edition of 1885, as he could not spare his own copy at that time. On receiving Mr. Sardesai's requisition Mr.Khandekar at once lent me his copy, which has enabled me to add many important details to Chapter XXVII. During the correspondence which followed Mr. Khandekar supplied me with some very important facts of the Maratha rule in Orissa. The first important item of information was about the surname of Sambhāji Ganeś. Mr.Khandekar informed me that Sambhāji Ganeś or Ganeś Sambhāji was the brother of one of his ancestors. He wrote to me on the 2nd October, 1929, that so far the family name of Sambhāji Ganeś has not been traced and that formerly it was considered uncourteous to write the family names of distinguished persons in his community, *i.e.*, Deccani Brahmanas, in official correspondence. Mr. Ganpatrao Gopal Khandekar is a direct descendant of the younger brother of Sambhāji Ganeś, the *Subha* of Orissa.



Details of the Jagamohana of the Liṅgarāja

The second important point, the knowledge of which we also owe to Mr. Khandekar, is the real name of this important person. There is a certain amount of confusion in the Calendar of Persian Correspondence published by the Imperial Record Department of the Government of India. In the majority of cases the name is written in the form of Sambhāji Ganeś.[1] In one case only the name is given as Ganeś Sambhāji. In the case of this letter, which was received from Mahārājā Jānoji Bhonsle on the 2nd July, 1768, the summary says, : "Since the return of Bhavani Pandit, who was the former *Subahdar* of Cuttack, Ganesh Sambhaji who is a man of great knowledge and tried courage, and is perfectly polite in his manner, has been deputed from hence with a well-appointed army."[2]

Hitherto this transposition in the name was regarded as being due to the very careless and ignorant compilers of the Calendar, as even letters from accredited agents of the Maratha Government of Nagpur, like Udepuri Gosain, use the form Sambhaji Ganeś.[3] Mr. Khandekar's claim now lays stress on the form of the name Ganeś Sambhāji. Moreover, this letter, received by the Governor of Bengal on the 2nd July, 1768, was written by Mahārājā Jānoji and not by any agent or intermediary of the Government of Nagpur. Only one fact still stands in the way; that the names Ganeś and Sambhāji were transposed so many times in the Persian Correspondence of the Government of India. Mr. Ganpatrao Gopal Khandekar informs me in the same letter that in an old memorandum preserved in

1 *Calendar of Persian Correspondance, Vol. II, p. 252, No. 892.*

2 *Ibid., p. 282, No. 1027.*

3 *Ibid., p. 275, No. 961.*

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his family records Ganeś Sambhāji is said to have enjoyed the patronage of the Bhonsles. Such memoranda, *Qursinamahs* and *Roznamchas* very rarely commit such mistakes in the case of proper names. The full name of Sambhāji Ganeś is really Ganeś Sambhāji Khandekar and his family came to Orissa from Upper India. The subsequent migrations of his descendants to Ujain in the dominions of the Mahārājā Sinde of Gwalior do not concern the History of Orissa.

APPENDIX IV

THE MARATHA CONQUEST OF THE SAMBALPUR TRACT

During the last twenty years persistent attempts have been made by one scholar to make people believe that the petty chiefs of Sonpur and Patna were really great and independent at one time. Save and except the family records of the so-called Chauhān Rajput chiefs of Patna, Sonpur, etc., on the borders of Orissa and Chhattisgaḍh no reliable records have yet been discovered which would prove that these pseudo-Chauhāns were ever independent. Maratha records assert that when Chhattisgaḍh was conquered by Raghuji Bhonsle I, all subordinate chiefs were feudatories of the Haihayas of Raipur and Ratanpur. It has moreover been asserted that Chhattisgaḍh was never conquered by the Mughals. As a proof that Chhattisgaḍh was thoroughly conquered by the Mughals I can cite the evidence of a silver coin of the Emperor Muhay-ud-din Aurangzeb' Alamgir exhibited at the annual meeting (1929) of the Numismatic Society of India struck from the mint of Bhonda, which proves definitely that Chhattisgaḍh had been definitely conquered by the Mughals during the reign of Aurangzeb. This coin was exhibited at Benares by Mr. T. Shrinivas of the Archaeological Department, who informs me that he can neither publish this coin himself nor permit me to do so unless and until something has been written on it in the official Archaeological publication of the Nizam's Government. He has given me to understand that his official superiors have discovered some

proofs about the identification of this place. Bhonda is a well-known zamindari in Chhattisgaḍh and lies to the north-west of the Kawardha State with its headquarters in a village of the same name.[1] This contemporary evidence of the conquest of Chhattisgaḍh by the Mughals, by the establishment of a mint, not in the degenerate day of the impotent Aḥmad Shāh or Shāh 'Alam II, but under the mighty Aurangzeb settle the question. Again, the authors of a class of propaganda literature are now trying to prove that the Marathas, from the time of Raghuji I to that of Raghuji II, never succeeded in conquering that part of Chhattisgaḍh which is adjacent to Sonpur and Patna. Such is the nature of a brochure written by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, formerly a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court, practising at Sambalpur and at present a lecturer in the of Calcutta University. This gentleman states that "The Mahrattas, who about this time became very powerful in the highlands of Central India, extended their range of influence over the districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri and threatened the independence of Sonpur as well as of Patna and Sambalpur. When the Mahratta Chief of Nagpur became successful in capturing Raja Prithvi Singh Deo, he demanded that the State of Sonpur should agree to pay a certain amount into the Mahratta treasury to own the Mahratta supremacy. How it was that Raghuji Bhonsla could capture the Raja of Sonpur is not now easy to ascertain. The story goes that Raja Prithvi Singh Deo, who was a generous-hearted religious man, allowed the Mahratta soldiers to enter into his State unopposed, when

[1] *Chhattisgarh Feudatory States Gazetteer.* (*Bombay Times Press.*) *1909, p. 323.*

the wily leader of the soldiers sent a messenger to the Raja asking for his hospitality.[1]" So we are to believe that the pseudo-Chauhān Chief permitted Maratha soldiers to enter his little State as a measure of charity! The number of portraits of the present and past chiefs of Sonpur which adorn this brochure alone suffice to prove that it was written for advertising the present Chief of that State and glorifying his ancestors. Fourteen years later this brochure was followed by another written in the garb of a scholarly work by the same author. The number of misleading and incorrect informations supplied for public use in the second brochure is larger than in the previous one. We are told that "Again this significance of this tract can never be ignored that the Mahomedans, who became all powerful in the sea-board districts of Orissa, never thought of advancing to the borders of the Sambalpur tract over which the Chauhan rule prevail."[2]

It would not have been necessary for me to burden the pages of this work with this appendix had not this class of literature been glorified by the very respectable name of Sir Edward Gait, M.A., K.C.S.I., I.C.S. (retired), formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar and Orissa and one of the very few members of the Indian Civil Service who, like C. U. Wills and William Irvine, still command respect in the Republic of Letters. It was not possible for Sir Edward Gait to judge of the amount of false and misleading information packed by its author in this book. Otherwise I am sure he would not have permitted

1 *B. C. Mozumdar, Sonpur in the Sambalpur Tract, Calcutta, 1911, p. 57.*

2 *Orissa in the Making, University of Calcutta, 1925, p. 229.*

his name to be associated with it. It has become necessary, therefore, for me to prove that the majority of statements made by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar with regard to the pseudo-Chauhāns of Sonpur and Patna are incorrect by quotations from earlier European writers. The first direct falsehood in the statement that "It goes without saying that the Chohan Rajas maintained their thorough independence from the time of their acquisition of the States to 1745 when the Marhattas of Nagpur subverted the Haihaya kingdom of Bilaspur and Raipur. How matters stood in Maratha times from 1745 to 1803 remains to be considered."[1] Let us consider how this point can be judged from contemporary documents. Major P. Vans Agnew submitted a report on the *Ṣūbah* or Province of Chhattisgaḍh in 1820. We learn from this report that the Haihaya Rājā of Ratanpur, who died in 1596 A. D., became tributary to the Emperor of Delhi. His successor Rāghunath Singh was deposed by the Marathas in 1745.[2] The Maratha commander, Bhāskar Rām Kolhaṭkar, took Ratanpur by storm. After the murder of Bhāskar Rām, Raghunāth Singh rebelled and drove out Kalyān Gir, the representative of the Maratha Power. In 1745 Raghujī returned as the head of the avenging army and deposed Raghunāth Singh, for whose support five villages were given. Mohan Singh was left in charge of Chhattisgaḍh and was successful in extending Maratha authority over the whole of Chhattisgaḍh and "in exacting tribute from Sumbulpore and other surrounding Zemindaries."[3] Maratha authorities, especially *Bākhars*,

1 *Ibid., p. 236.*

2 *Reprinted at Nagpur, 1915, p. 2.*

3 *Ibid., p. 3.*

pay very little attention to petty chieftains like the pseudo-Chauhān Rājās of Sambalpur, Sonpur and Patna. The *Bākhar* of the Nagpur Bhonsles by Kāśi Rāo Rājeśvar Gupte mentions Chhattisgaḍh in many places but no mention is to be found of the pseudo-Chauhāns. On page 41 it is stated that in *Faslī* 1153 Raghunāth Singh was replaced on the throne of Ratanpur but Kalyān Gir was placed in charge as the Maratha Agent. In *Faslī San* 1160 Mudhoji was sent to Chhattiagḍh for settlement where he remained for a year.[1]

The appointment of Mohan Singh is also mentioned later on.[2] The learned Vakil of the Calcutta High Court, now Professor of the Calcutta University, never thought that Maratha records and even early ninteenth century printed books in English would be brought forward to refute his inexactitudes, because such statements have been accepted by careless compilers of *Gazetteers* and ignorant district officers in Orissa and the Central Provinces, as historical facts. Agnew's statement proves that Sambalpur as well as all of its pseudo-Chauhāns subordinates were subjugated by the Marathas. We have seen in Chapter XXVII that there were Maratha Agents posted at Sambalpur for a long time, such as, Rāgmānji or Ragunāthji Jāchak, Lakshmanji Jāchak, etc. We know from the original *Bākhar* of the Nagpurkar Bhonsles that Jāchak was a family name of a host of officers of Raghuji I and his successors.

The next falsehood in Mr. B. C. Mazumdar's book is

[1] *Nagpurkar Bhonslyā Bakhar, with notes by V. D. Oke, Poona, 1865, p. 48.*

[2] *Ibid., p. 61.*

the following sentence: "Mr. Wills has proved that far from holding the Rulers of the Sambalpur Tract under subjection, the Rulers of Raipur and Bilaspur did never even realise or demand any revenue from the chiefs of the Chhattisgaḍh area who were counted as subordinate chiefs of the Haihayas."[1] I shall quote Major Agnew once more to prove that, though Mr. Wills is perfectly right, Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, with his usual legal acumen, has misstated the facts of the Haihaya-vamśi land-tenure in his attempts to prove that his client and his ancestors were independent chiefs under the Haihayas and the Marathas:

"A *General Account of the Systems which have prevailed at different times.*—Under the Haihaya-vansi Rajahs the Feudal principles of their rule precluded anything in the nature of a System of Revenue. The Rajahs and the members of his family retained no more lands under their own management than were necessary for their comfort and dignity, the rest were assigned to their chiefs, who on their requisition, supplied them with whatever they required, with money according to their wants, and in war with quotas of troops proportioned to the lands they held. These Petty Lords seem, on their part, to have followed the same system, retaining but small tracts of land in their own hands and distributing the remainder amongst their servants who were at the same time soldiers and cultivators. The judicial authority in important cases they personally exercised; but in all inferior and common occasions they left the chief executive authority in revenue as well as other matters to the head of each *Talook* or

1 *Orissa in the Making, p 236.*



Rekha Temple at Khajuraho

village, who, it may be concluded, did not act upon any general or uniform plan.

"The conquest of the country by the Mahrattas changed this state of things and gradually led to the introduction of their Revenue System in all those parts of the Province which were sufficiently productive to repay the trouble of the change.

"During the time of Rajah Ragojee 1st little was done towards establishing any regularity, although Mohun Singh, who was left in charge of the Province by him, was very active and successful in subduing many Zamindars and either making their Lands Kalsa, or subjecting them to Tribute.

"After Bimbajee's arrival in Sumbut 1815 (A. D. 1758), the first attempts were made to establish order ; but it was not until the time of Veetul Dinkur, who filled the office of Soobadar in Sumbut 1847 (A. D, 1790) that any regular Revenue System was introduced ; and that then adopted has continued, with but few changes, until the Superintendence of the affairs of the District fell into our hand."[1]

The public will now be able to understand better for what reasons no revenue was demanded of the pseudo-Chauhan chiefs by the Haihaya kings. The next statement which calls for attention is : "When the Marathas came into power in Chhattisgarh in 1745 they did not direct their attention to this Sambalpur Tract, as that tract, which afforded them easy passage to Orissa and beyond, was not a strategic point with them. To subvert, or rather to uproot, the Moslem Rule was what the Marathas aimed at,

[1] *Report on the Subah or Province of Chittisgurh written in 1820, Nagpur, 1925, p. 10.*

and as such Orissa Proper lying between two areas of Moslem influence, namely, the Northern Sircars and Bengal was a strategic situation and that situation the Marathas secured in the course of five years from 1745 to 1750 A. D."[1] Agnew's report of 1820 proves definitely that the Marathas ground Hindus and Musalmans alike in the same mill. The treatment of Raghunāth Singh of Ratanpur was the same as that of the Musalman Gond Raja of Deogadh-Chanda. The Haihaya suffered to the same extent as the pseudo-Chauhan.

Perhaps Mr. B. C. Mazumdar thinks that a false statement gains ground by repetition. Therefore, on the next page we find the statement that: "That the principalities of the Sambalpur Tract remained thoroughly independent during this time is proved by the fact that the Marathas after becoming masters of Eastern Orissa had to ask the Ruler of the principalities of the Sambalpur Tract to acknowledge the overlordship of the Bhonslas of Nagpur almost towards the end of the 18th century."[2] We are not aware of any petition submitted by Raghujī Bhonsle I or any of his successors to the great would-be Mahārājās of Sambalpur or Sonpur applying for their pleasure to become the subordinates of the Bhonsles. Agnew, who was a soldier and not a lawyer, states definitely that Mohan Singh exacted a tribute from Sambalpur and the surrounding Zamindaris and his language implies the fact that the pseudo-Chauhans received the same blunt and ruthless treatment as the Niẓām-ul-mulk of Ḥaidarābād Deccan. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar naively admits that the petty chief Prithvi Singh

1 *Orissa in the Making, p. 237.*

2 *Ibid., p. 238.*

Deo was kept a close prisoner at Nagpur by the Bhonsles for seventeen long years and after the death of his son he had to be ransomed.[2] Throughout the succeeding pages two facts are constanly dinned into our ears : That the pseudo-Chauhan chiefs never paid tributes to the Marathas and were independent throughout up to the British conquest and that their rank is much higher than that of all other Garhjāt chiefs of Orissa. It has been proved that all pseudo-Chauhan chiefs, whether of Sambalpur, Sonpur or of Patna, had to pay tribute to the Marathas though it might have become necessary to enforce its payment, at times as in Orissa Proper. It is also certain that the status of all Garhjāt chiefs of Orissa was higher than that of all chiefs of the Chhattisgaḍh Garhjāt. This can be proved from the fact that at the first engagement with the British Government the settlement with Sonpur was for five years only and therefore his status was that of an Oudh Tāluqdār after the deposition of Wājid Ali Shāh of Lucknow. But Mayurbhañj, though ceded to the same power by Raghuji Bhonsle II in 1803, pays the same tribute to the British Government as it did in 1804 and that is one-sixth of what it paid to Raghuji II. Sonpur and Patna remained included in the Central Provinces till 1905 and therefore they obtained better treatment from the Government of the most backward province in India, while the Orissa Garhjāt chiefs suffered a continual diminution of their ancient powers and privileges on account of their inclusion in Bengal, then the Metropolitan province of the British Empire in India. It is needless for me to pursue further the legal chicaneries

Ibid., p. 230.

of this learned legal representative of the Sonpur family beyond stating the fact that the Chhattisgaḍh Garhjāt chiefs were never independent, were thoroughly subjugated by the Marathas before 1755 and were regarded as Zamindars, not even as feudatories, by the Bhonsles of Nagpur till 1818. Motte distinctly states in 1766 that Sonpur was dependent on Jānojī.[1] I understand that the History of the Bhonsles of Nagpur is being compiled and written according to the modern critical method by certain Deccani gentlemen of the Central Provinces and it will be very soon possible for Mr. B. C. Mazumdar to learn how the ancestor of his client, Prithvī Singh Deo, was really treated by his so-called friend, Raghujī Bhonsle I. during his imprisonment for seventeen years at Nagpur and how much *revenue* not *tribute* was paid to the Bhonsles by them up to 1818.

I have had occasion, four years ago, to point out how far Mr. B. C. Mazumdar is capable of camouflaging facts and of misrepresenting truth. Here I must warn readers against believing propagandist literature either on behalf of the chief of Mayurbhañj or that of Sonpur. Propaganda in Indian States is a dangerous shoal for the general public and for the students of Indian History. I must quote one particular example in which a decent person (Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I. C. S. *Retd.*) was misled into making a totally false and misleading statement. While compiling the Gazetteer of the Orissa Feudatory States Mr. O'Malley was persuaded by two Oriya gentlemen named Babu Satyabadi Padhi and Babu Nand Kishore Bohidar of Sambalpur to state that eighteen States were feudatories

[1] *Asiatic Annual Register, 1799, p. 222*

to the Chiefs of Patna or Sambalpur. But Major H. B. Impey, Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, writing in 1863, mentions eighteen other states as forming the Athara-gaḍh :—

Impey's List		O'Malley's List	
1.	Patna	4.	Patna
2.	Sambalpur	5.	Sonpur
3.	Sonpur	1.	Bamra
4.	Bamra	7.	Rairakhol
5.	Rehrakhol	2.	Gangpur
6.	Gangpur	14.	Baud
7.	Boad	13.	Phuljhar
8.	Autmullik	3.	Bonai
9.	Phuljhar	8,	Raigarh
10.	Banni	11.	Sakti
11.	Raigarh	9.	Sarangarh
12.	Bargarh	10.	Bindra-Nawagarh
13.	Sakti	6.	Khariar
14.	Chandarpur	12.	Borasambar
15.	Sarangarh	15.	Athgarh
16.	Bindra-Nawagarh	16.	Panchgarh
17.	Khariar	17.	Mayurbhanj
18.	Borasambar[1]	18.	Keonjhar[2]

Mr. B. C. Mazumdar quotes O'Malley with great glee because "Information received through the office" by that unsuspecting gentleman had enabled Mr. Mazumdar to prove that the Bhañjas of Mayurbhañja and Keuñjhar were at one time feudatories of his Chauhan Emperors and he quietly omitted to state that the list printed in Sir Richard

1 *Reprint of Report on the Zamindarees and other Chieftaincies in the Central Provinces in 1863 by Sir Richard Temple, K. C. I. E., Nagpur, 1923. p. 9.* 2 *Bengal District Gazetteer, Sambalpur, p. 22.*

Temple's "Report on the Zemindarees of the Central Provinces of 1863" does not contain the names of Mayurbhañja, Keuñjhar, Pānchgaḍh, Āthgaḍh and in their places are mentioned Āthmalik, Chandrnpur and Bargaḍh. The *Āṭharagaḍh* of Impey consists of 17 Garhjat states plus Sambalpur.

Such are the methods employed by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in his reconstruction of the History of Orissa.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE BRITISH CONQUEST AND ADMINSTRATION

The British conquest of Orissa in 1803 was a premeditated event, because Orissa lay between the British provinces of Madras and Bengal. It is true that after the fall of Tipu in 1799 the strategic value of Orissa had diminished considerably in the eyes of the English East India Company, yet the biggest territorial cession demanded of Raghuji II after the disaster to Maratha arms at Argaon was Orissa.

When in revenge for the murder of his brother, Yaśovant Rāo Hoḷkar attacked Poona, the foolish Bājī Rāo II fled, after the defeat of his own troops and those of Daulat Rāo Śinde, to the English at Bombay and surrendered his own independence by entering into a Subsidiary Alliance with the English Company. The surrender of the Peshwa's independence was a terrific blow at Maratha national prestige and honour. So long as British dominions last in India, it will not be possible to determine to what extent Yaśovant Rāo Hoḷkar's action was influenced by British gold, though it is certain that when Assaye, Argāon, Aligarh and Lāswarī were being fought, Yaśovant Rāo's neutrality was purchased inspite of his avowals of patriotism to Raghujī. His subsequent treatment after his surrender to Lord Lake in the Punjab proves that before his aggression Yaśovant Rāo Hoḷkar was an ally of the English and a traitor to his own nation. While it must be said to their credit that even the useless Daulat Rāo Śinde and Raghujī Bhonsle II stood up in

defence of Maratha national independence, the former, undaunted by the most indecent seduction of all European officers of his army by the brothers Wellesley, Yaśovant Rāo Hoḷkar, the Dhangar and the traitor, stood by calmly looking at the destruction of the Maratha Empire in India.

The principal seat of the war was at first in Berar and was then transferred to North-Western India. Orissa was neglected by Raghujī Bhonsle II, impotent as he was, compared to the military equipments of Daulat Rāo Śinde and Yaśovant Rāo Hoḷkar. Just before the Third Maratha War (called Second by some writers) Raghujī was at the apogee of his power; yet his army at that date was far inferior to those of the Peshwa, Hoḷkar and Śinde. He made large increases in his military establishment following the lead of Mahādjī Śinde, but he did not possess the vigour and skill of that great Maratha general. Mahādjī's regular army was composed of people of Northern India, both Hindus and Musalmans. Raghujī raised and disciplined some North Indian Sepoys between 1790 and 1803. But his miserly and mean nature and habits of parsimony prevented him from employing a highly paid European Commander like De Boigne or Dudrence. His battalions therefore were not efficient and he did not know how to employ them either at Assaye or at Argaon. The principal defect of the Maratha army was the absence of anything like a national army; Assaye, Lāswari, Aligarh, Dig, Delḥi and other battles were principally fought by North Indian Brahmans, Rajputs and Musalmans employed by the English East India Company against the same class of people employed by Raghujī Bhonsle II, Daulat Rāo



Nātamandira of the Liṅgarāja—View from North
Bhuvaneśvara—Puri District

Śinde and Yaśovant Rāo Holkar. Raghuji's cavalry was raised in Poona or other parts of the Deccan and Musalmans from Northern India and his infantry consisted of Arabs, Gosāins and Pardeśis (Northern Indian Hindus).[1]

The battles of Assaye and Argaon possess a very distant relation with the History of Orissa. That province was invaded by two different armies; one from Bengal and the other from Madras. The Madras army assembled at Ganjam, which was then British territory, and started for the southern frontier of Orissa on the 8th September, 1803, though war was declared one month and five days earlier, on the 3rd August of that year. It marched along the sea-coast between the Chilka lake and the Bay of Bengal and reached Manikpatna in the Puri District on the 16th. They were not opposed by the Marathas even during the crossing of the creek connecting the Chilka with the Bay, which took two days. The army reached Narsinghpatna on the 18th or five days before the battle of Assaye and entered Puri without any opposition. A detatchment of Hindu Sepoys was left to guard the temple of Jagannātha and Colonel Harcourt resumed his march after halting for two days. The Marathas had retired to the other side of the river and the first engagement took place when the English attempted to cross. The former opened a sharp fire but soon broke and fled. Colonel Harcourt crossed the river and drove the Marathas out of their entrenchments in the wood. The Marathas now employed their national method of guerilla

[1] *British relations with the Nagpur State in the 18th Century, p. 197.*

warfare and harassed the advancing army. On the 2nd October they were surprised in their camp and driven out. They took up their stand on the 4th October before Mukundapur near Pipli and attacked the English army but were repulsed with great loss. They now retired into the jungles of Khurda and no further opposition was encountered by the advancing army. Harcourt crossed the Katjuri and entered Katak on the 8th. The fort of Barabati was captured by him six days later and Central Orissa passed into the possession of the English.[1]

The Bengal army consisted of 500 Sepoys, 21 Gunners and four 6-Pounders and sailed from Calcutta for Balasore. The force came in three ships and landed at Jampada near Gabgaon near old Balasore. Their landing was not opposed and a body of Maratha horse met them only at Balighat just below Barabati fort. They were soon driven away and the English rushed forward and attacked the fort. Balasore was taken after a very faint resistance and the *Faujdār*, Mayūra Pandit, retired towards Katak. A third British Army started from the Medinipur border under Colonel Fergusson and arrived at Balasore without any opposition. This army marched to Katak to join the larger army under Colonel Harcourt. In the meanwhile the Rājās of Kujang, Kanika and Harishpur were trying to combine against the English. And so Colonel Harcourt marched to Kujang *via* Patamundai. On the approach of the Company's troops the Rājā fled and his elder brother, who had been kept a prisoner, was placed on the *gadi*. The Rājā was captured and sent to Katak as a prisoner. The forts of Kanika, Kujang and Harishpur

1 *Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri p. 43.*

were occupied and demolished and all artillery carried away to Katak. A force was despatched under Major Forbes to force the Barmul[1] pass and occupy it on the 2nd November. Lieutenant Colonel Brougton captured Sambalpur[2] on the 2nd January 1804. This narrative itself proves that Raghujī II had made no arrangement for defending Orissa before joining Daulat Rāo Śinde on the 4th June at Malkapur in Berar[3]. His crushing defeat at the battle of Argaon and the fall of his stronghold of Gāwilgadh compelled him to submit to the degrading treaty of Deogaon. This treaty was ratified by the Governor-General in Council and by the second article Raghujī Bhonsle II ceded the Province of Orissa with the fort and district of Balasore. "Senah Saheb Soubah Raghojee Bhoosla cedes to the Honorable Company and their Allies, in perpetual sovereignty, the Province of Cuttack, including the Port and District of Balasore."[4] By the partition treaty of Poona with the Peshwa Bājī Rāo II, ratified by the Governor-General, the cession of Orissa was confirmed.[5] It appears that the small states or Zamindaris of Sambalpur and Patna were also ceded to the British, though there is no explicit reference to them in the treaty of Deogaon. Article 10 of this treaty says : "Certain treaties have been made by the British Government with the feudatories of Senah Saheb Soubah.

1 *Ibid., Katak, Calcutta, 1906 p. 34.*

2 *British Relations with the Maratha States in the 18th Century, pp. 184-85.*

3 *Report on the Territories of the Rājā of Nagpur submitted to the Supreme Government of India, 1827, Re-printed at the Government Press, Nagpur 1923, p. 64.*

4 *Aitchison—A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, revised upto 1st June 1907. Calcutta 1909, p. 415.*

5 *Ibid., Vol. VI, Calcutta, 1892, p. 64.*

These Treaties are to be confirmed. Lists of the persons with whom such Treaties have been made will be given to Senah Saheb Soubah, when this Treaty will be ratified by his Excellency the Governor-General in Council."[1] It is stated in the note that Raghuji II was very reluctant to sign the treaty with this clause on but was compelled to do so when threatened with a renewal of hostility. Sir John Shore restored Patna and Sambalpur to Raghuji Bhonsle II by a separate treaty dated 24th August, 1806, which was ratified by him on the 2nd October.[2] Sambalpur was retained by the Bhonsles till 1818 and it was finally ceded by Raghuji Bhonsle III with more than a half of his kingdom in 1826.[3] Thus by a freak of fortune the little states of Patna and Sambalpur did not come into the possession of the British till 1826, though they were a part and parcel of Orissa.

After gaining possession of Orissa, the British officers immediately made arrangements for the permanent administration of the country because they knew that it would not be restored in any case. Immediately after the conquest Colonel Harcourt and Mr. Melville C. S. were appointed "Commissioners for settling the affairs of Cuttack." Rājā Mukunda Deva II espoused the cause of the British as soon as the conquering army entered Orissa. He had hopes of obtaining the *parganahs* of Lembai, Rahang, etc., which the Marathas had compelled his ancestors to cede.[4] The Commissioners in charge of of the civil administration, with the usual rapacity of

1 *Ibid., Vol. I, p. 416 and Note.*
2 *Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 417-18*
3 *Ibid., pp. 425-33.*
4 See *Ante.*

Englishmen in India in the 18th Century, refused to do so. In September 1804, they accused the Rājā of an intrigue in connection with the temple of Jagannātha at Puri, and Mukunda Deva II was forbidden to issue any orders to any person residing within the limits of the *Mughalbandi*. A month after the issue of this order Khurda troops raided a village near Pipli. The British officers suspected that the Rājā was in league with the Marathas and called for troops from Ganjam. The Rājā's people retreated to the fort of Khurda, which was besieged, and were followed by British troops. It was taken after three weeks and Mukunda Deva II succeeded in escaping. But he surrendered after a few days, his State was confiscated and he was carried a prisoner to Katak and then removed to Medinipur. After his release in 1807 he was permitted to come to Puri and live in his palace at Balishāhī as the Superintendent of the temple of Jagannātha. He received Rs. 2,133-5-4 as *Mālikānā* allowance from his former State. The British made arrangement with all Garhjat chiefs for their submission in writing, except from Mayurbhañj, immediately after occupying the country. In the first instance, treaty engagements were entered into with lowland chiefs and those Garhjat states which were near the hills. Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt and Mr. J. Melville as Commissioners for the *Ṣūbah* of Orissa entered into the first treaty with the Rājā of Kanika on the 22nd November 1803. By this treaty Rājā Balabhadra Bhañja

(i) promised submission and loyalty to the East India Company.

(ii) to pay a tribute of 84,840 *Kāhans* of Kaurīs or Rs. 21,240 in three instalments and

(iii) to employ his own troops in case any neighbouring Rājā disobeyed the Company's authority.

There were minor clauses regarding restitution of culprits, etc. Exactly similar treaties were entered into with twelve other chiefs :

(i) Qila' Athgaḍh Rājā Śrīkaraṇa Gopīnātha Boburta Paṭṭanāyaka—tribute 28,101 *Kāhans*.

(ii) Qila' Narsinghpur Rājā Mānsimha Harichandana—tribute 6601 *Kāhans*.

(iii) Qila' Baramba Rājā Piṇḍika Mungraj (Mardarāja) —tribute 6340 *Kāhans*.

(iv) Qila' Jourmoo Rājā Gauri Charaṇa Dev Bhañja—tribute 4500 *Kāhans*.

(v) Qila' Talcher Rājā Bhāgirathī Vīravara Harichandana—tribute 6715 *Kāhans*.

(vi) Qila' Tigiria Rājā Champat Singh—tribute 4000 *Kāhans*

(vii) Qila' Hindol Rājā Kṛishṇachandra Mardarāja Jagadeva—tribute 2500 *Kāhans*.

(viii) Qila' Khandapara Rājā Bhramaravara Rāya—tribute 24100 *Kāhans*.

(ix) Qila' Dhenkanal Rājā Rāma Chandra Mahendra Bahādur—tribute 23175 *Kāhans*.

(x) Qila' Ranpur Rājā Vajradhara Narendra—tribute 6000 *Kāhans*.

(xi) Qila' Nayāgaḍh Rājā Māndhātā—tribute 26450 *Kāhans*.

(xii) Qila' Nilgiri Rāja Rāmachandra Mardarāja Harichandaṇa—tribute 23400 *Kāhans*.[1]

[1] *Aitchison—A Collection of Treaties Engagements and Sanads, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 314-15.*

In return for these treaties the East India Company granted *Qabūlnāmahs* on the same day agreeing to treat all Rājās impartially and not to make any other demand except the tribute. More than a year later a similar treaty was executed with Rājā Janārdan Bhañja of Keunjhar on the 16th December 1804 and his tribute fixed at 12000 *Kāhans* to be paid in three equal instalments. In the counter-engagement signed by Harcourt and Melville it is stated in addition to the other clauses that the land held by the Rājā in the Mughalbandi should remain in his possession in perpetuity.

Though Kanika and Kujang were the ring-leaders of the rising against the British, similar treaties were entered into with Kujang also immediately after the conquest. We learn from the sixth volume of the Treaty, etc., that *Qabūlnāmahs* were executed by the Commissioners mentioned above in favour of the Rājās mentioned below :

1. Kanika
2. Kujang
3. Khurda
4. Tigiria
5. Aul
6. Dhenkanal
7. Ranpur
8. Baramba
9. Khandapara
10. Nayagarh
11. Bankee
12. Bankee
13. Jaurmoo
14. Athgaḍh
15. Harishpur
16. Vishnupur
17. Murickpore (Marichpur)
18. Nilgiri
19. Patiya
20. Hindol
21. Angul
22. Sookinda.

There is a separate treaty with Rājā Gaurī Charaṇa Bhañja Dev of Daspalla in whose territory lay the valuable pass of Barmul, which was the key to Chhattisgaḍh and Nagpur. There is no date attached to the treaty or *Qabūlnāmah*. On the 3rd March a treaty was entered into with the Rājā of Baudh and Athmallik and a *Qabūlnāmah* given to him by the same Commissioners but without any stipulation for tribute.[1]

Though the last Gajapati had submitted to the British and obtained a *Qabūlnāmah* from Harcourt and Melville and though he was the hereditary Superintendent of the holy temple of Jagannātha, he was kept a prisoner in Barabati fort till 1807 and his ancestral possession confiscated, merely on the suspicion that he might have been in league with the Marathas. He was the first and the foremost chief in Orissa in rank though not in power and therefore the British Officers in Orissa thought the rebellion of his troops to be a sufficient ground for his deposition and the confiscation of the State.

We must now return to the affairs of Mayurbhañj. Though Mayurbhañj had submitted early to the British and even helped the Company's troops considerably against the Marathas, the Commissioners for the settlement of the *Ṣūbah* of Orissa did not consider it necessary to enter into a treaty with Mahārāṇī Sumitrā Deī Bhañja. The position of Sumitrā Deī was still ambiguous and Mayurbhañj was the richest and the most powerful of the Feudatory States of Orissa. The reasons of this forbearance on the part of the British Company are still unknown and we cannot understand for what reason

[1] *Ibid., Vol. VI, Calcutta, 1862, pp. 186-96.*



Door Jamb of Kutāitundi, Khiching

Messrs. Harcourt and Melville neglected to enter into treaty engagements with Sumitrā or any other wife of the late Dāmodar Bhañja. We know of two other Rāṇis of Dāmodar Bhañja, named Jamunā Dei and Champā Dei, as well as an adopted son named Trivikram Bhañja from the records. The policy of conciliation adopted by Wellesley towards Mayurbhañj was continued after his departure and the representations of one Bhagnut Muhtee (Bhāgavat Mahti), *Wakīl* of Rāṇi Sumitrā Bhañja, were favourably recommended and forwarded to the Board of Revenue by G. Oswald, Collector of Medinipur, on the 14th December 1804. The petition of Bhāgavat Mahti contains the information that the *parganah* of Nayabasan was extremely unprofitable and therefore a very large balance had accumulated in 1802. In the *Āmlī* year 1211=1803 Mahārāṇi Sumitrā Dei received a *parwanah* from the Governor-General-in-Council to assistthe English army in every way. At the same time Mr. Ernst, Judge of Medinipur, sent another *parwanah* to her informing her that the collection of revenue from her zamindari was suspended for the the time being and she was requested to afford assistance to the English army. She was also requested to guard the passes to her territories, through which the road from Medinipur to Katak passed, very carefully and to report the advance of Maratha troops, if any, to the English army. She was also informed that any expenses, which might be incurred by her, would be deducted from the revenue payable to the Company for her zamindari. Mahārāṇi Sumitrā Dei spent about Rs. 2000 in helping the British to conquer Orissa and therefore she failed in the payment of the revenue for

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Nayabasan. Then the Collector sent an *Āmīn* into her zamindari to attach it and a portion of the dues were paid up, but Rs. 1707 still remained due from the revenue for 1803 for which Nayabasan was advertised for sale. Though the Collector of Medinipur had forgotten his promises very quickly as soon as the active need of Mahārāṇi Sumitrā Dei's co-operation with the Company was over, the Board of Revenue remembered the case and the arrears were remitted to the extent of the interest due.

Before proceeding to the still nauseating narrative of early British attempts at the settlement of Land Revenue in Orissa we must continue the narrative of succession in the Mayurbhañj State from records available to me. Some time between 1804 and 1812 Trivikram Bhañja came into power. He was the second king of that name in Mayurbhañj, the first (1660-88) being known to us from Bowney's "Country round the Bay of Bengal."[1] He will therefore be styled Trivikram II. We learn from "List of Ruling Chiefs from the Annual Administration Report of Mayurbhañj State for 1894-95" sent by the late Maharaja Kṛishṇa Chandra Bhañja to the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals that Sumitrā Dei ruled from 1796 to 1810. After her death in 1810 her name still continued on the register of zamindars and the Collector of Katak wrote on the 1st August 1811 to the Board of Revenue stating that he was unable to ascertain whether the son of the late Rājā of Angul (? Trivikram) was legitimate. The Board ordered him to ascertain and report by what means the late Rāṇi of Mayurbhañj acquired the proprietary rights of the Qila.'

[1] *See Ante*

The Board was informed before this date that the late Rājā Dāmodar Bhañja had adopted a son and the Board thought that the right of inheritance to the Qila' (the entire State of Mayurbhañj) should have devolved on this adopted son. The case was evidently referred to the Governor-General in Council. Dowdeswell, as Secretary to the Government, informed the Board of Revenue on the 3rd March 1812 that the revenue (? tribute) payable by the Mayurbhañj State should be fixed at Rs. 1001 as proposed by the Board on condition of that State relinquishing all claims to the share (6-16th) realised by it from pilgrims to Jagannātha. On the same date E. S. Waring, Collector of Katak, forwarded a petition from Rāṇī Champā Dei, one of the widows left by Dāmodar Bhañja. A copy of this petition is not available to me now but it appears from Waring's letter that Champā Deī had claimed to the succession to the *Gadi* after Sumitrā Deī. Waring states that after receiving the Board's letter directing him to register the State in the name of its present possessor, both he and Mr. Midford issued proclamations but nobody responded to it. We learn from the same letter that Rāṇī Jamunā Bhañja had also presented a petition which had been forwarded to the Board by him on the 11th July, 1811. Further on Waring states that he has received several petitions from Jamunā Deī (? Champā) and ordered her *Wakils* to prove their case, who failed to substantiate the claim. They ended by stating that if the State was not to be given to Jamunā (? Champā) Deī then it must revert to the Company. The last paragraph of Waring's letter contains the very valuable information that Trivikram Bhañja, the adopted son of the late Rājā

Dāmodar Bhañja, has been in possession of the State for almost two years. This statement proves definitely that the late Mahārājā Kṛishṇachandra Bhañja was not correct in stating in 1894-95 that Sumitrā Deī was succeeded by Jamunā Dei who ruled from 1810-1813. It is now certain from the records that Trivikram Bhañja succeeded Mahārāṇī Sumitrā Deī in 1810 and Jamunā Deī was only a pretender. Waring writes again a week later to the Secretary to the Board of Revenue stating that he had every reason to believe that the person who appeared before him as the *Wakīl* of Rāṇī Champā Deī was an imposter. He thought that interested persons were trying to delay the registration of this case in the name of the present possessor. One of the Rānīs of the late Dāmodar Bhañja had sent an acknowledgment acknowledging the present possessor as the lawful heir to the State (letter dated the 10th March, 1812). On receiving this letter the Board ordered Waring to reject the applications of Champā Deī (17th March, 1812). On receiving this letter the Collector reported on the 24th March 1812 that necessary arrangements had been made with Rājā Trivikram Bhañja in accordance with the resolution of the Government. It is therefore clear that Mahārājā Kṛishṇa Chandra Bhañja's list of succession of Bhañja kings bassed on State records is wrong. Sumitrā Deī was directly succeeded by Rājā Trivikram Bhañja and Jamunā Deī was a pretender till March 1812 and after that date she could not have exercised any lawful authority. The name of Jamunā Deī as the 39th ruler of the Mayurbhañj State should therefore be deleted.[1]

[1] *Vanshanucharita, Baripada 1927, Appendix VI, C.*

It appears that after her declaration as an imposter the person of Champā Deï was in some danger and Dowdeswell as Chief Secretary to the Government of India wrote to Richardson, Collector of Katak, requesting him to take such measures as he thought fit for the protection of her person against any ill-designs on the part of Trivikram Bhañja. The Collector was also directed by the Governor-General in Council to enquire regarding the right of succession to Mayurbhañj according to the laws and usage of that country. On the 18th March 1815 this report was submitted and sent to J. P. Ward, Collector of Katak.

According to this report the Garhjat States are reported to be 29 in number. The Chhatisgaḍh States, including Patna, Sambalpur and Sonepur, are of course omitted from this list. The report states that "Several of the above tributary estates are subject to the operation of the British Laws and Regulations and several of them are exempted from their influence. During the Maratha government Mayurbhanja paid a quit-rent of Rs. 6000 and received 6-16ths of the pilgrim tax and transit duties at certain passes. Now the States pays Rs. 1001 to the British Government". We learn further that Mahārāṇī Sumitrā Deī had claimed exemption from tribute and made a demand for a considerable sum for damages she had sustained. This claim was rejected. The estimated revenue of Mayurbhañj was Rs. 40,000 to 50,000. The report expresses doubt about sale of this State for arrears of revenue or tribute, as it stood in an important part of the south-western frontier of British territory in 1815 and it was considered expedient to attach the proprietor to the

British Government by moderation and forbearance. This is the real reason of the want of treaty engagements with Mayurbhañj till 1829. Though the British had become supreme in India after the fall of Daulat Rāo Śinde and Yaśovant Rāo Hoḷkar in 1805, the Maratha spirit was not entirely crushed and the Hoḷkar still possessed a considerable army. The Bhonsles had become negligible but the Peshwa was still a power, both moral and physical. Solely for this reason Mayurbhañj, the most powerful State in Orissa, received favourable treatment in not having any binding engagement with it suzerein and having to pay only Rs. 1001 out of Rs. 40000 or Rs. 50000, while the neighbouring State of Kanika, with an income of 100000 had to pay Rs. 10132-5-10. The Estate of Aul paid Rs. 26,680, after which only Rs. 15,000 remained for the proprietor.

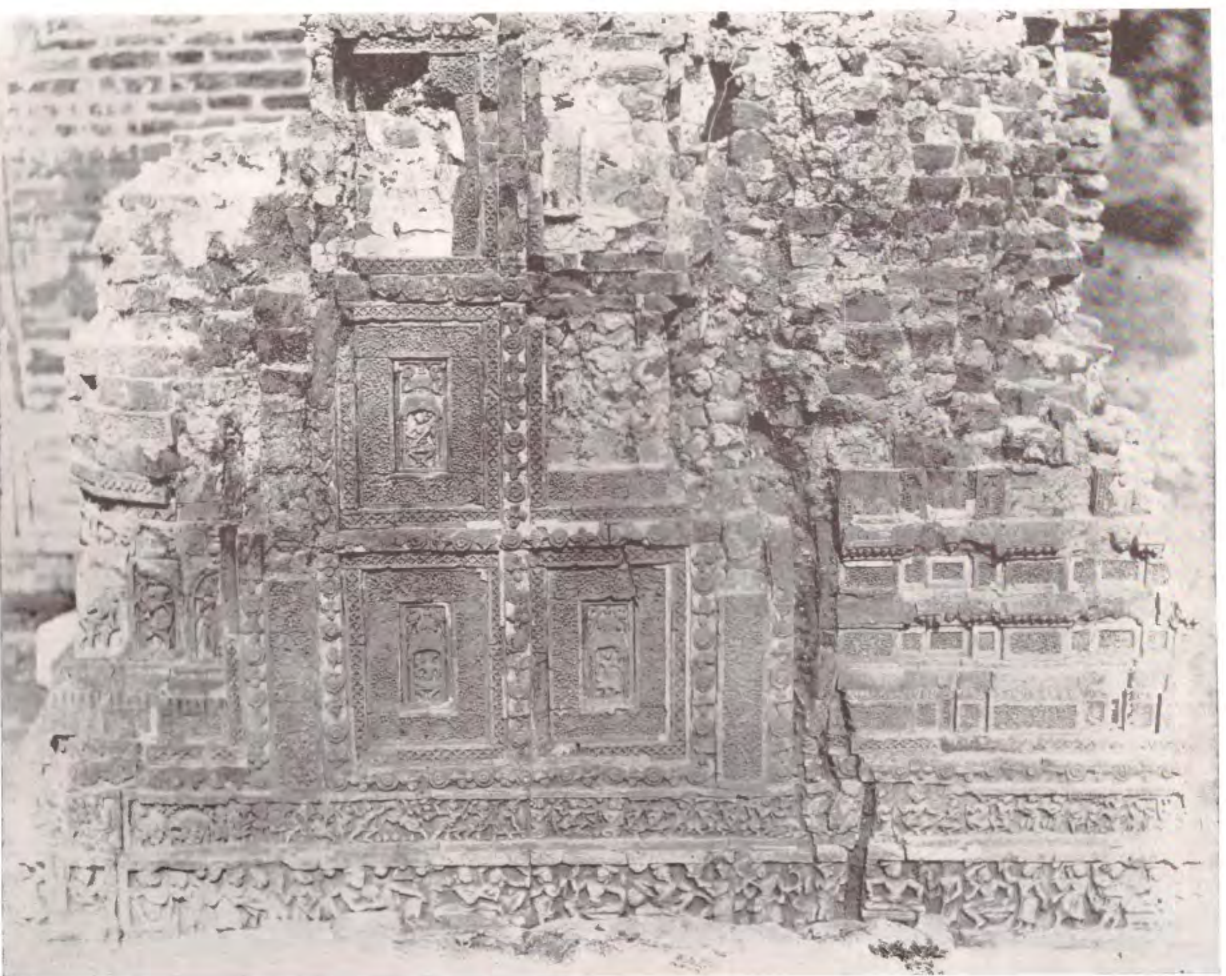
The principal and most powerful of the 29 States of Orissa were exempt from the influence of British Laws and Regulations. The report contains a recommendation for the extension of such laws and regulations over all the Tributry Mehals of Orissa, specially Police Laws, in the interest of humanity.

While British officers in Orissa were proposing the introduction of their own laws into the semi-independent States, the same laws administered by them and carried into effect by their Bengali subordinates were ruining the nobility of Orissa and impoverishing the richest people of the country. Though the 19th century had begun, the British Officers who administered the laws in Orissa belonged to the 18th Century and carried on the tradition of the past. Bengalis of an undesirable type came into

Orissa after 1803. The Oṛiyā was very backward at that time and in fact he was just like the semi-literate Panjabi after 1848. He was certainly not fit for any of the lower offices in the British Administration. Musalmans were too few, as they are still now. So in fact Bengalis of a low type ruled Orissa for nearly half a century after the conquest. They became notorious for chicanery and dishonesty, while no protest could be raised against the camouflaged dishonesty of the early 19th century English officers, known as "Nabobs," out of fear. For years the Oṛiyā suffered in silence till the Bengali became more honest by education and till the English officers became true representatives of British justice.

Having control of judicial and executive work, the Bengali found Orissa an easy means to get rich quick. He had no competitors in the field and the British officers had to rely entirely on them. Police extortion and sale of public justice was carried on entirely through Bengalis. The British East India Company realised the gravity of the offences of their officers too late in the great crisis of 1817 when the Hoḷkar's army expiated for the sins of Yaśovant Rāo at the battle of Mehidpur and the Bhonsle's troops—for the lesser sins of Raghujī II committed in not rejoining Yaśovant Rāo Hoḷkar and Daulat Rāo Śinde after 1803,—at the glorious battles of Sītābaldi and Nagpur. Some day the true history of the Fourth Maratha War and the great battles of Ashṭā, Koregāon, Mehidpur and Sītābaldī will be written, but the time is not yet ripe. In Orissa the contemporaneous movement was the rebellion of the *pāiks*, the national militia of Orissa. The causes of their discontent and that of their leader were simply the

rapacity of British Officers in Orissa and their Bengali subordinates. It is useless at the present day to recapitulate the long and rambling narrative of Toynbee, the shorter sketch of O'Malley will be sufficient. At the time of the British conquest of Orissa, British officers were still imbued with the idea of the permanent settlement introduced by Cornwallis into Bengal, Behar and Benares. Immediately after the conquest, the British Commissioners for the settlement of the *Ṣūbah* of Orissa decided to cancel all demands on account of arrears of revenue. In 1804 the first settlement of revenue was made in Orissa and it was embodied in Regulation XII of 1805. This settlement was for one year only and was to be followed by a triennial settlement. The triennial settlement was effected but was followed in 1808-9 by another settlement for four years. Then followed a number of hasty settlements concluded according to the advice of Bengali Ministerial officers to whom a settlement always brought a golden harvest in the shape of bribes in cash and kind, *nazars* to the European officers and starvation and ruin alike to the peasants and their proprietors. These disastrous settlements were concluded in 1812-13 for one year, 1813-14 for two years and in 1815-16 again for one year. When the crisis came another settlement was made in 1816-17 for three years. In the meanwhile the majority of British officers were totally ignorant of the country, its capability of producing crops, and devastation on account of bad government of more than half a century, and they had to rely on their Bengali subordinates for every bit of information that they got. The Oṛiyās were very shy and mistrusted their new masters. They held back papers of *Hastabud*



Terracotta works of Rasikarāya Temple, Haripur, Mayurbhañj State

and *Jama'-Wasil-Bāqī*. The Bengali subordinates now profited, because soon it became impossible for the Oṛiyā land-holders to pay the demanded revenue from their deserted villages. In all cases the Bengali subordinates possessed more accurate information about the quality of the soil, the value of the produce and the quantity of arable land of different kinds and classes lying waste than his British masters. Therefore they speculated in landed property exclusively with the help and aid of their friends in Bengal. Hundreds of old Oṛiyā noblemen were ruined and their ancient heritage passed into the hands of Bengali zamindars. The new assessment was on paper only, the amount was never realised and arrears accumulated rapidly. To crown all, the Bengalis in Orissa persuaded the dishonest Britisher of the day to sell defaulting estates by auction in Calcutta. For some years after 1806 the zamindaris of many old families of Orissa were sold for a mere song in Calcutta and on this gross injustice and grave inhumanity flourished "Nob Kissens" and "Ganga Govinds" of the early 19th century. Many Oṛiyā zamindars were frightened by the alterations in the revenue demanded by the British Government and many of them left heriditary possessions to be managed *Khāṣ*. In O'Malley's words, "many left their estates to be held by the Collector, who in his turn either managed them through *tahsildars*, who embezzled as much as they could, or farmed them out to speculators, who rack-rented the ryots. A large portion of the revenue assessed could not be collected, the hardships of our revenue system were aggravated by repeated droughts, and the amount realized fell to 65 per cent. of the

demand."[1] The hopeless incompetence and dishonesty of early British administrative officers in Orissa, combined with the rapacity and cruelty of their Bengali subordinates, precipitated the great crisis of 1817.

The actual causes of the *pāik* rebellion were double. The *pāiks* held land on service tenure. It was a regular feudal system consisting of infeudation and sub-infeudation from the chief to the humble *pāik*. Major Fletcher, who had been placed in charge of the territories of Mukandadeva II, is still notorious in Orissa for his incapacity and dishonesty. He was persuaded by his Bengali subordinates to resume the *Chākrān* lands of the Khurda *pāiks*. The 20th century Englishman gives a true exposition of facts nearly a century after the event. O'Malley says:—"Nor was this all. Deprived of the lands which they had enjoyed from time immemorial, they were subjected to the grossest extortion and oppression at the hands of the farmers, *sarbarāhkārs,* and other underlings to whom our Government entrusted the collection of the revenue and also to the tyrannies of a corrupt and venal police.[2]"

Stirling's description of the *pāiks* of Orissa is extremely interesting and is therefore quoted in full:—"The Paiks or landed militia of the Rajwara combine with the most profound barbarism. and the blindest devotion to the will of their chiefs, a ferocity and unquietness of disposition, which have ever rendered them an important and formidable class of the population of the province. They comprehend all castes and classes, chiefly perhaps the

1 *Bengal District Gazetteer, Cuttack, pp. 158.*

2 *Ibid., Puri, o. 51.*

Chasa or cultivating tribes; occasionally individuals of the lowest castes are found among them, as Khandras, Pans and Bawaris (*Sanscritice* Berber or Barbarians;) and the fashion has often prevailed of adopting into their order some of the more savage inhabitants of the remote hills, called Khonds, as also even Mussulmans and Telingas. It is well known that they are paid by service lands, which they cultivate with their own hands in time of peace, subject to the performance of military and rude police duties whenever called upon by their chiefs. Abulfazl states the number of Paiks or zemindari militia (in the original, Sipah-i-zemindari) liable to be required for the service of the state according to the conditions of the tenure of the zemindars, at about 1,55,000 for the present districts of Cuttack and Midnapore, which probably formed but a small part of the entire force maintained by those chiefs. The Paiks of this part of the country are divided into three ranks distinguished by names taken from their occupations or the weapons which they use chiefly, *viz.* 1st. The Pahris, who carry a large shield made of wood covered with hides and strengthened by knobs and circles of iron, and the long straight national sword of Orissa, called the khanda. They are stationed chiefly as guards. 2nd. The Banua, who use the match-lock principally now (in lieu of their old missile weapons), but have besides a small shield and sword. It was their duty to take the field principally and go on distant expeditions. 3rdly. The Dhenkiyas who are armed with bows and arrows, and a sword, and perform all sorts of duties.

"The war dress of the *Paiks* consists, or did consist, of a cap and vest made of the skin of the tiger or leopard;

a sort of chain armour for the body and thighs ; and a girdle formed of the tail of some wild animal. Besides the terror inspired by these unusual habiliments, they further heightened the ferocity of their appearance by staining their limbs with yellow clay, and their countenances with vermillion. Thus exhibiting altogether as savage and fantastic an air, as one can well conceive to invest the national army of any country or people. However wild and motley their appearance and composition, they certainly did not fight badly, when encouraged at least by the proximity of their jungles, since we find them constantly sustaining the most bloody battles with the Moghuls, and it may be doubted whether they were not superior to any infantry which the Berar Marhattas ever brought into the field during their government of the province.[1]"

Starvation and ill-usage compelled the *pāiks* of Orissa to rise against the British. In writing of the *pāik* rebellion European writers, even of the present century, have forgotten to include one important factor, the general unrest among the Maratha population throughout India. It is well known to every Indian that the Peshwa Sawāī Bājī Rāo was not really conquered at Ashtā and Koregāon but long before that by the pen of the Honorable Mountstuart Elphinstone at the Residency of Kirkee. The process was long and painful both to Bāji Rāo II and the entire Maratha nation. The long process of arrangements for the sale of the Maratha nation by the Maratha people themselves had awakened mixed feelings among Marathas outside the limits of Gujarat and the Deccan.

[1] *Asiatic Researches Vol. XV. pp. 200-202.*

A very large number of Marathas were still residing in Orissa, especially in Katak, and there is an undetermined link, not to be determined at the present age, between the treaty of the British East India Company for the cession of certain forts dated 13th June 1817 and the *pāik* rebellion in Orissa. In Orissa the *pāik*s wanted a leader and their hereditary General Jagabandhu Vidyādhara *Mahāpātra Bhramaravara Rāya,* the hereditary *Bakhshī* of the Gajapatis of Khurda, supplied the want. There was no coherence in the great Maratha risings of 1817 and there fore the *pāiks* of Orissa fought in their early mediaeval way. Jagabandhu was a person of very high rank so long as the State of Khurda existed. Besides extensive landed property, he held in heredity the valuable estate of Qila' Rorang at a very low quit-rent. After the British conquest he was one of the earliest nobles of Orissa to submit to Colonel Harcourt. But though the Qila' of Rorang was settled with him at first, it was taken away from him by a Bengali and in June 1814 the Government of India ordered that no settlement should be made with him till he had established his titles to the property in a court of law. To the ordinary Englishman, firm in his faith in the Grand Jury and Petty Jury of England, there is no apparent injustice in such an order. He forgets that when "Nabobs" like Clive and Hastings ruled India, justice in British courts outside Calcutta was dispensed by *Ḥākims* sitting on a *Masnad*, chewing *Pāns* and smoking a *Huqqā*. More usually the *Ḥākim's* conscience was in the keeping of a lady who vended *pān* under a tree near the court and hawked British Justice to the highest bidder before the sitting and after the rising of the court.

Jagabandhu was fully aware of this state of affairs and the 20th century Englishman naively admits that the former "evinced the greatest repugnance to do so (*i.e.*, to go to a British court of justice for the redress of his grievances) pleading his want of means, the degradation of suing as a pauper, and the uselessness of any reference to the courts from an Oriya when a rich Bengali was the defendant."[1]

So the Bengali favourite of the British Officers in Orissa reduced the once mighty Jagabandhu Vidyādhara, the Commander-in-chief of the last Gajapati of Khurda, to destitution. He was maintained by voluntary contributions made by the people of Khurda in memory of his former kindness and nobility. No wonder Jagabandhu rebelled. It was only fitting that he should die fighting instead of begging from door to door. He served a noble purpose, as his rising opened the eyes of the British masters of Orissa to some extent. In any other country except India, Jagabandhu Vidyādhara would have been regarded as a national hero and a benefactor of his own people, because by rising in rebellion and sacrificing his own self he saved the nobility of Orissa from total extinction at the hands of the Bengali adventurers and the common people from longer oppression.

In March 1817 a body of Khonds marched into Khurda from the neighbouring State of Ghumsur in Ganjam and were at once joined by the *pāiks*. With the rise of the *pāiks* the entire country rose in rebellion. The people proceeded to attack the police station at Banpur, gutted all Government buildings, killed about one hundred and

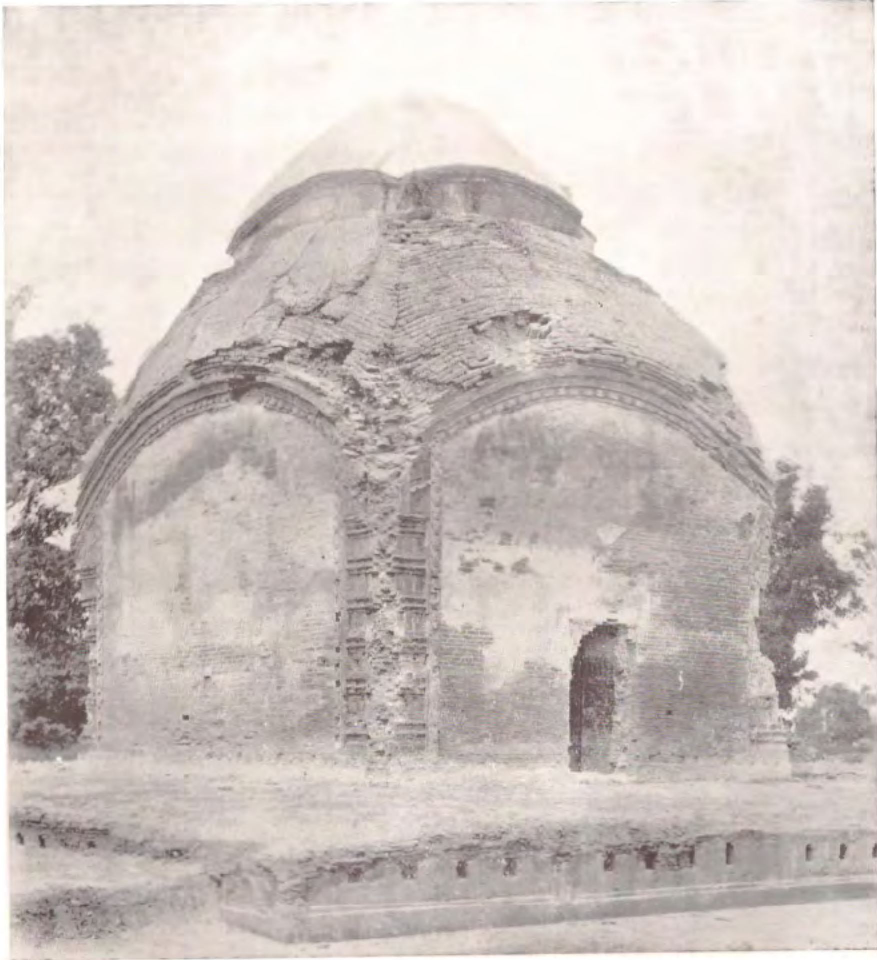
1 *Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri, p. 52.*

carried off treasure amounting to Rs. 15000. They proceeded towards Khurda and all Government officials fled. The treasury was plundered and the town sacked. Another body went into the *parganah* of Lembai and murdered an Indian official who had endeared himself to them by his attentions. When news reached Katak one detachment of troops was sent to Khurda and another to Pipli. The Collector of Katak set out on the 1st April 1817 with sixty Sepoys for Khurda. The British troops were defeated at Gangpur by a large number of *pāiks* and forced to return to Katak. The detachment which had gone to Khurda lost the British officer in command at Gangpara and was compelled to retreat with the loss of all baggage. The troops sent to Pipli were also compelled to retire and that *Thanah* was sacked. Another detachment of troops, sent to Puri, reached that town and according to the advice of the commading officer an officer with 550 men and a few guns were sent to Puri on the 9th. On the same day some *pāiks* entered Puri and burnt the court-house and other Government buildings. The Indian officers took refuge in the houses of the European officers on the sea-shore and in a desultory engagement with the Sepoys the *pāiks* were defeated on the 13th of April. Rājā Mukundadeva II joined the *pāiks* and the priests of the temple of Jagannātha proclaimed the fall of the British Raj and and the restoration of the Gajapatis. The *pāiks* gained in strength and British troops abandoned Puri, reaching Katak on the 18th. Southern Orissa was entirely in the hands of the rebels and all communication by land with Katak was cut off. The larger detachment reached Khurda without opposition and hearing that the

pāiks had gone to Puri, it proceeded thither by forced marches. It encountered the *pāiks* on the second day after leaving Khurda and easily defeated about 1000 rebels near the embankment of a tank. This force captured Puri with Rājā Mukundadeva II. Authority was re-established very easily though the *pāiks* hid in the jungles and committed great depredations on the defenceless villages. So in the earlier part of the next year a military force was employed to hunt them down in their jungle. The fate of the brave Jagabandhu Vidyādhara need only be guessed. Mukundadeva II was simply cast in prison for his supposed treason, where he died in November 1817. His descendants were removed to Puri, where they still live and are known as Rājās of Puri. "His son Rāmchandra II (1817-56) built a new palace on the car road at Puri and amassed much wealth by his thrifty habits. He was succeeded by Virakishoradeva II (1856-62), and the next Rājā was Dibyasiṅhadeva II (1862-77), who was transported for life on a charge of murder. The present representative of the family and Superintendent of the Jagannātha temple is Rājā Mukundadeva, popularly called the Rājā of Puri."[1]

The brave Mudhoji Bhonsle *alias* Āppā Ṣāḥib, the son of Vyaṅkājī *alias* Manyā Bāpu, was now paying very bitterly for his attachment to the national cause and to the Peshwā Bājī Rāo II and for the sin of the murder of Pārsojī Bhonsle, the son and successor of Raghujī II. Immediately after the battles of Sītābaldī and Nāgpur Baji Rao II and his army of treacherous Marathas and Hindustanis were defeated on the Wardha. Āppā Ṣāḥib surrendered but further pressure compelled him to fly

1 *Bengal District Gazetteer, Puri, p. 55.*



Rasikarāya Temple, Haripur, Mayurbhañj State

to Asirgaḍh and thence to Daulat Rāo Śinde in Hindustan.[1] The Nagpur State lay prostrate at the feet of the British conqueror. Āppājī Bhonsle had been compelled to cede a great part of it to the British and this cession was confirmed by the treaty of 1826 by the child Raghuji Bhonsle III, the adopted son of Pārsojī Bhonsle.[2] One of the first acts of the British Government was to annul the supremacy of the chiefs of Patna and Sambalpur over the zamindars of the neighbouring countries. They were, besides Patna and Sonpur:—

1. Bāmrā
2. Kālāhāṇḍi
3. Khariār
4. Rāirākhol
5. Raigaḍh
6. Bārgaḍh
7. Sārangaḍh
8. Phuljhar
9. Bindrā Nawāgaḍh
10. Śākṭi
11. Baṛā Sāmbar.[3]

The Rājā of Sambalpur was replaced on the *gadi* and all other States over which he claims suzerainty were now regarded as separate states.[4] Specimens of the engagements submitted by Mahārājā Bhupāl Dev of Patna, dated 17th February 1827 and Mahārājā Mahārāj Sāhī of Sambalpur dated 22nd February 1827 show that at the time of the British canquest they were not feudatory chiefs with a fixed *Peshkash* of tribute but Zamindars or Tāluqdārs

[1] *Report on the Territories of the Raja of Nagpur,* by Richard Jenkins, *Resident at Nagpur, 1827, reprinted at Nagpur 1923, pp. 70-73.*

[2] Aitchison—*A collection of Treaties, engagments and Sanads, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1909, pp, 425-33.*

[3] *Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces up to August 1862 by* Sir Richard Temple, *reprinted at Nagpur 1923, pp. 78-9.*

[4] Aitchison—*Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. I, Calcutta 1909, p. 389.*

whose *Jama'bandi* varied from year to year. The *Qabūliyat* executed by Mahārājā Bhupāl Dev of Patna on the 17th February 1827 shows that he agreed to pay a *Jama'* of Rs. 562-8 annually for five years from 1826-27 to 1830-31. He was therefore exactly on the same footing as the *Tāluqdars* of Oudh. The revenue was to be paid at Sambalpur. The *Qabūliyat* executed by Mahārājā Mahārāj Sahi of Sambalpur on the 22nd February was of a different nature. There is no mention of *Peshkash* and that chief simply binds himself to the right discharge of Police and Judicial duties.[1] Nārāyan Singh, the last Raja of Sambalpur, died without issue and his State lapsed to the British in 1850.[2] Patna and Sonpur remained to be recognised as feudatory states in April 1865.[3] While Patna was formerly the chief of the *pseudo*-Chauhan[4] chiefs, later on it had to cede its supremacy to Sambalpur. The small State of Sonpur was all along a feudatory of Patna or Sambalpur and never independent. It was a pure British creation and is subject to *Nazarana* rules.[5] Yet these petty chiefs, all of whom were British creations, represented to the late Sir Andrew Fraser that "Their powers and status as Feudatory Chiefs were higher than those of the Feudatory States of Orissa and they

1 *Ibid., pp. 443-44.*

2 *Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces up to August 1862, p. 78, Para 373.*

3 Aitchison—*Treaties, etc. Vol. I. p. 391.*

4 Regarding the origin of the Patna-Sambalpur-Sonpur Chauhans and all claims to Rajput origin in Orissa See Appendix III at the end of this chapter.

5 Aitchison—*Treaties etc. Vol. I, p. 313.*

feared that they might be reduced to the same level."[1] The easy pliability of the late Sir Andrew Fraser, at one time Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces and Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, is now well known and it was natural for him to assure them that as to their first difficulty their powers and privileges and status would be clearly and fully defined and recorded and that no diminution in any of them would occur. The raising of the Patna and Sonpur Taluqdars to the status of Feudatory Chiefs and their claims to total independence are subjects too voluminous to be treated in full in a general narrative of the history of Orissa.[2]

After 1827 came the first important administrative measures in Orissa. The Oriya States of Sambalpur, Sonpur and Patna remained attached to the Chhattisgaḍh Division of the Central Provinces. In the *Mughalbandi* a new settlement was effected for three years in 1819-20, and again in 1822-23 for five years. It was not till 1835 that some semblance of permanency in land-tenure was reached. The great settlement of 1835-45 began nominally from 1837. It was for 30 years and was the first effective revenue measure in Orissa. In the meanwhile officers in Orissa, both Indian and English, had become more capable and honest and were supported by the Government of Bengal. Settlements were also effected in 1867-97 and the country rapidly recovered from the desolate condition into

1 *Among the Rajas and Ryots p. 317 ; B. C. Mozumdar—Orissa in the making, pp. 244-5.*

2 The totally unfounded claims of the Chiefs of Patna and Sonpur to independence during the Mughal and Maratha periods have been critically analysed in Appendix IV.

which it had fallen on account of the dishonesty and incapacity of Government officials. In the *Mughalbandi* "The Commissioners for the settlement of the affair of the *Ṣūbah* of Katak were abolished in 1805 and the whole of Orissa was placed under a single Collector and a Judge. Its head-quarters were at Puri till 1816, when it was transferred to Katak. In 1829 Orissa was divided into three separate districts, Puri, Katak and Balasore to which a fourth, Angul, was added after the confiscation of that State in 1850. Like Angul many other states of Orissa were confiscated during the British period and many others were reduced to the status of ordinary zamindars. Thus Al or Aul, one of the great Qila's held by the descendants of Mukunda Harichandana the last real independent king of Orissa, consisting of three *parganahs* of Derabisi, Utihar and Quṭbshāhī, was held at the time of the British conquest by Rāmakṛishṇa Deva. It is held as a zamindari on the payment of an annual quit-rent or *Peshkash* and is managed by the Court-of-wards like an ordinary zamindari estate, when occasion arises. The Feudatory State of Banki was confiscated in 1835 on the simple charge of the Raja having been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment for life on a charge of murder. The British policy of confiscations upto 1856 made it necessary that all States should be confiscated as soon as the opportunity arose. At the present day the present British Gavernment would have replaced the former Rājā by his son or a relative.[1] Similarly the Bhañja State of Kanikā, once a Feudatory State, has now become an ordinary zamindari. The Feudatory State of Kujang also became a zamindari and

[1] *Bengal District Gazetteer, Katak. pp. 197-9.*

was sold for debt and purchased by the zamindar of Burdwan in Bengal. It was one ot the latest Estates of Orissa to be acquired by a Bengal Zamindar.[1] With the exception of the confiscated State of Khurda there are several escheated Estates in the district of Puri. The estate of Kodhar was in the possession of the *Mahānt* of Uttarapārśva-Maṭha of Puri at the time of the British conquest and its revenue was devoted to defraying the cost of a *Bhoga* of Jagannātha at Puri. In 1834 the British officers found out that "The *Mahānt* had no proprietory right to the estate and had only been granted an assignment from its revenue from the Marātha Raghujī Bhonsla." It was accordingly resumed in 1839. At the settlement of 1843 the Estate was let in farm to the former *lakhirājdār* at a *Ṣadar-jama* of Rs. 6739." When a more humane policy prevailed in British India certain money payments made to the Uttara-Pārśva-Maṭha and to the Jagannātha-Ballabha-*Satra* were converted into a grant of land by making over fifteen villages in the Kodhar State to the Uttara-Pārśva-*Maṭha* and eight to the Jagannātha-Ballabha-*Satra*. The British Government retained ten villages, which still form a *Khāṣ-Mahal*.[2]

During the Government of Bābūjī Nāyak an Oṛiyā named Trilochan Paṭnāyak was entrusted with the collection of revenues from the *parganah* of Koṭdesh and finally obtained a *Sanad* of Zamindari from Raghujī II. In 1896 his state was sold for arrears of revenue and was fortunately purchased by Oṛiyās, but in the last settlement of 1900 the owners did not care to enter into a fresh engage-

1 *Ibid., pp. 218-20.*

2 *Ibid., Puri, pp. 270-1.*

ment with the Government and consequently the estate became *Khās*. The only other important historical Estate in the Puri district is Parikud. The family claims possession from Mughal time. At the time of the British conquest a treacherous Mūsalman, named Fatḥ Maḥmūd, guided Colonel Harcourt's army accross the Chilka and as a reward five *parganahs* including Parikud were given to him as *Jāgir*. Fatḥ Maḥmūd was the *Jāgirdar* of Malūd, the most important outpost on the southern frontier of Orissa and his treachery enabled the British army from Madras to pass the creek or outlet of the Chilka without opposition. The present zamindar of Parikud still pays Rs. 1600-as rent to the descendants of Fatḥ Maḥmūd.[1]

It was in this period of revenue reform that the earliest engagment was entered into with the State of Mayurbhañj. By antiquity of descent, extent or area of possessions and power the Bhañja chiefs of Mayurbhañj were naturally the foremost princes of Orissa. After the fall of the Gajapatis of Khurda the Bhañjas became the most important chiefs in the whole of the *Mughalbandi* and the Garhjat. The papers regarding the settlement of the tribute or *Peshkash* are not forthcoming as yet, but this is certain from the correspondence about the claims of Trivikram Bhañja, Jamunā Deī and Champā Deī that the State was paying a *Peshkash* of Rs. 1,001 from sometime before 1812. It is also certain from copies of correspondence preserved in the Board of Revenue of Bengal that Mayurbhañj paid a *Peshkash* of Rs. 6,000 to the Marathas immediately before the British conquest of

[1] *Ibid., pp. 285-86.*

Orissa. The reduction of the tribute to one-sixth was in consideration of the great help received by the British armies from Mahārāṇi Sumitrā Deī when entering and passing through Balasore. It was necessary to continue the policy of conciliation adopted by Wellesley in 1803 till the fall of the Peshwa in 1818 and the re-occupation of Chhattisgaḍh in the same year. Then Medinipur, Singhbhum, Ranchi and Hazaribagh lost their importance as the south-western frontier of Bengal and Bihar. With it the big State of Mayurbhañj lost its significance as a powerful State on the border. It was at this time that a treaty engagement with Mayurbhañj was pressed. The treaty was entered into with Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja, the son and successor of Rāja Trivikram Bhañja. According to the State records, Rājā Trivikram died in 1828. The tenor of the treaty is altogether different from that executed with Mahārājā Mahārāj Sāhī of Sambalpur two years previously. The first clause is the usual engagement of submission and loyalty while the second is an engagement for the payment of the annual *Peshkash* or tribute of Rs. 1,001 by the Rājā and his heirs. The third clause should be read along with the fourth and by these the Rājā engages to restore any inhabitant of the *Mughalbandi* who might fly to his territory, also to surrender any of his subjects *committing any offence in Mughalbandi.* Also the Rājā engaged himself to submit his claims on residents of the *Mughalbandi* to the British authorities. The fifth clause was an engagement to supply conveyance and provisions to British troops passing through his territory and not to detain any of the Company's

subjects, holding a *dastak,* passing through his territory. The sixth clause refers to an engagement on the part of the Rājā to help the Company with a contingent of his own troops in case of disturbances in the neighbouring Garhjat States on receiving rations only. After the first and the second clauses the most important is that by which the Rājā of Mayurbhañj surrenders his right to a 6-16ths share on the tax levied on pilgrims and other passengers at Khunta Ghat which he had received from time immemorial.[1]

It is evident from the clauses of the foregoing treaty that the British Company recognised in full the internal sovereignty of the Mayurbhañja State. Compared with the treaty entered into with Mahārājā Mahārāj Sāhi of Sambalpur and the petty States of Sonpur and Patna the treaty of 1829 places Mayurbhañj on a much higher position than the Oṛiyā chiefs of the Chhattisgaḍh Garhjāt, though Bhupāl Dev of Patna and Mahārāj Sāhi of Sambalpur were styled Mahārājās, in the treaties executed with them in February 1827, and Jadunāth Bhañja is called simply a Rājā in the treaty of 1829. It is absolutely certain that the status of Jadunāth Bhañja was much higher than that of all the pseudo-Chauhan Chiefs. Bhupāl Dev agreed to pay his annual rent at Sambalpur and therefore he was a Mahārājā of the type of Darbhanga in Bihar and Balrampur in Oudh. Bhupāl Dev's suzerain Mahārājā Mahārāj Sāhi "was vested with authority from the Government to administer justice, and to conduct Police duties within

1 Aitchison—*Treaties Engagements and Sanads, Calcutta, 1909, Vol. I, pp. 348-49.*



Details of the *Śikhara* of the *Vimāna* of the Liṅgarāja
View from the South

the limits of his State," which he engages to discharge to the best of his power. He also engages to report to the British authorities whatever happens in his territories, not to oppress any of his Ryots, not to oppress or levy cesses prohibited by the Government and not to appropriate unclaimed or intestate property. These terms prove conclusively that inspite of his title of Mahārājā, Mahārājā Mahārāj Sāhi of Sambalpur had no right to call himself a chief in 1827. He was simply a zamindar in British territory vested with police and judicial powers by the Government. This distinction was not observed by the British Government at Calcutta and while Mayurbhañj, on account of its proximity to the regulation province of Bengal and the metropolis of India at Calcutta, declined in the enjoyment of internal sovereign rights steadily, Sambalpur, Patna and Sonpur steadily gained and finally obtained recognition as Feudatory States on account of their inclusion in the most backward tracts of the most backward province of India, the Central Provinces. It is for this reason that the Chiefs of Sonpur and Patna were eager to retain their recent privileges obtained by their inclusion in a non-regulation province where the British officer is still an uncontrolled *Ḥākim*.

We must now return to the copies of original correspondence preserved, regarding certain disturbances in the Mayurbhañj State. We learn from a dispatch sent to the Hon'ble Court of Directors of the East India Company, by the Judicial Department of the lower provinces, *i. e.*, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, on the 23rd October, 1833, of disturbances which had taken

place in the Mayurbhañj State. In 1821 four of the five *Pīrs* in the Bāmanghāṭi Subdivision of that State had been forcibly annexed by the British Company and now formed into the district of Singhbhum in Bihar. These four *Pīrs* were entirely inhabited by Kols and therefore the local name for this territory was Kolhan. The remaining *Pīr* remained under the Mayurbhañj State subject to the control of the Commissioner of Katak in his capacity of Superintendent of Tributary Mahals in Orissa. There was one *Sarbarāhkār* in charge of all five *Pīrs*. The four *Pīrs* of Tāi, Bharbharyā, Aulā and Lālgaḍh being in British territory the *Sarbarāhkār* now imagined himself to be independent of the Rājā of Mayurbhañj and owing obedience only to the Agent to the Governor-General on the South-western frontier at Hazaribagh, inspite of the fact that he still held land within the Mayurbhañj State. The *Sarbarāhkār* had evidently gained over Captain Wilkinson, who recommended the transfer of the entire Bāmanghāṭi tenure to the Commissioner of Orissa. On the 3rd April, 1832 the *Sarbarāhkār* rebelled against the Rājā and burnt some villages on the great southern road from Calcutta to Nagpur, which passed through Medinipur and Sambalpur. The Company's Government received a report from Mr. Stockwell, Commissioner of Katak, on the 6th April, stating that the latter had summoned both Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja and the *Sarbarāhkār* of Bāmanghāṭi in order to effect a reconciliation between them. Both parties attended on the Commissioner at Balasore, from January to the 11th of March, who decided that Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja had a right to remove the *Sarbarāhkār* or to modify and change the circumstances

of his tenure. The second decision of the Commissioner is more important for the history of Feudatory Chiefs in Orissa. Mr. Stockwell states as his second conclusion "that it was a case of internal management and arrangements of that nature with which the Government desired there should be no interference, and that the Sirberakar as vassal must submit to and abide by the orders of his feudal chieftain." It is, therefore, absolutely clear that following the Maratha system of Non-interference with the internal affairs of a feudatory state the British Company's Government even in 1832 did not want to meddle between Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja and his subordinate of Bāmanghāṭi. The *Sarbarāhkār* was directed by Stockwell to wait upon Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja and settle with him the terms for the future, more specially on the point of doing homage to his chieftain, but the latter vanished during the night. Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja was not competent to deal with the *Sarbarāhkār* and so Stockwell marched to Bāmanghāṭi with a company of the 47th Native Infantry. The Government ordered troops at Medinipur to be ready but Stockwell was informed that the Government did not propose to order the regiment at Medinipur to march immediately. On the 14th April, Stockwell replied that the five *Pīrs* should be rendered entirely independent of the Rājā and his *Sarbarāhkār* and placed under some Kol chief who possessed sufficient influence. The *Sarbarāhkār* opposed Stockwell's advance and the latter was compelled to call on the Officer Commanding at Medinipur to advance with all troops available. On the 15th a foraging party of British troops was attacked and plundered and Stockwell retired towards Bangiri-musi. He was again attacked and

a Ḥāvildār killed and two Sepoys wounded in this action. Stockwell now applied for re-enforcements from Chhotanagpur. He reached Bāmanghāṭi on the 10th May with the troops from Medinipur after meeting with some opposition. On the 15th May, he reported to the Government that he did not require the co-operation of any troops from Chhotanagpur. In the meanwhile, Captain Wilkinson arranged terms with the *Sarbarāhkār* by promising him continued possession of his tenure and a full enquiry into the causes of his dispute with the Rājā of Mayurbhañj on condition of his ceasing hostilities and going to Captain Wilkinson. The *parwanah* was received by the *Sarbarāhkār*, Mādhavdās, but a violent sickness broke out among the troops, which compelled Stockwell to abandon the Bāmanghāṭi country. He found out that the intention of Mādhavdās *Sarbarāhkār* was to render himself completely independent of any controlling power. A meeting of the inhabitants of Bāmanghāṭi was held and Stockwell reported on the 22nd of May that he had decided to withdraw the troops into cantonment at Medinipur. Lieutenant-Colonel Doveton, Ensign Manningford and Sergeant James McMaera died at Bāmanghāṭi with twelve Sepoys of fever alone. On the 26th May, Mādhavdās reached Captain Wilkinson and the Government ordered his restoration. He was ordered to pay the due tribute to the Rājā of Mayurbhañj. The five *Pīrs* were placed under Captain Wilkinson through whom the tribute was to be paid. The Government having decided on the full restoration of the guilty Mādhavdās, Stockwell resigned by way of protest against the injustice done towards him and the Rājā of Mayurbhañj.

It appears from another despatch to the Court of Directors, dated the 6th September, 1836, that Mādhavdās *Sarbarāhkār* was a *Mahāpātra* in rank. Ajumber Singh, the Kumār of Saraikela, was a party in the dispute and Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja stated that the Kumār was actually assisting the Kols. Mr. Ricketts, the successor of Stockwell, suggested that Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja should be maintained in his present position and supplied with arms and ammunition on promising not to molest the Kumār of Saraikela, that the Kumār should be assured of protection on condition of his not aiding and abetting Mādhavdās *Mahāpātra*, and finally, that he could persuade Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja to make a suitable provision for Mādhavdās. Captain Wilkinson was assured by the Kumār that he had not aided Mādhavdās and reported that Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja and the Rājā of Singhbhum intended to attack the State of Kharsāwan. The Government warned the Kumār of Saraikela about assistance given by him to Mādhavdās. But Captain Wilkinson stated that no assistance had been given by the Kumār to Mādhavdās. The same authority reported that Mayurbhañj troops had captured a place called Tetaposa with the help of the Kols of Lālgaḍh and Aulā *Pīrs*, which placed the whole of Bāmanghāṭi entirely at his mercy. Captain Wilkinson of Hazaribagh supported the Kumār of Saraikela, while Mr. Ricketts of Orissa supported Jadunāth Bhañja. The former settled the boundary between the Kumār and the Rājā into two *Pīrs* named Jarāi and Giddarsingra.

The Kols of Bāmanghāṭi gave repeated trouble and on the 28th April plundered the Government *Dāk-Chaukīs* in the Mayurbhañj State. Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja stated

that this act was committed by two tribes of Kols at the instigation of the Kumār of Saraikela and Mādhavdās *Mahāpātra* in order to draw the displeasure of the British Government on Mayurbhañj. It was elicited during an enquiry that the offence was committed by the Kols of Lālgaḍh *Pīr* who were adherents of Mādhavdās, headed by his cousin Ratanmaṇi, who gathered his adherents in the country of Kumār Ajambar Singh. The Kols also attacked a party of Sepoys returning from an outpost on relief and wounded three of them. Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja agreed to pay the expenses of the Rāmgaḍh battalion if they were stationed at Bāmanghāṭi and he permitted the utilisation of their services for the reduction of the Lālgaḍh and Āulā *Pīrs.* Mādhavdās *Mahāpātra* had been ejected from his territory and was residing at Hazaribagh since December, utterly destitute and maintained by Captain Wilkinson. Rājā Jadunāth and Kumār Ajambar Singh of Saraikela were both warned that whoever broke the peace would be severely dealt with. The cost of repairing the *Ḍāk Chaukīs* was paid by Rājā Jadunath Bhañja but the final decision of the Government was suspended till the receipt of the decision of the Court of Directors.

Another disturbance took place in the neighbouring Bhañja State of Nilgiri. The Rājā was a minor and under the guardianship of his mother, who employed her own brother, Śivacharaṇ a Paṭṭanāyaka, as her *Diwan.* One Hari Bābu was a distant relation of the Rāj family, whose father had claimed this State in 1811 and later on compromised on receiving a *Jāgir.* This *Jāgir* was relinquished by Hari Babu for a cash payment of Rs. 120 per annum in 1831. Hari Bābu claimed the State—like his father did—in 1832

and was supported by the Rājā of Kaptipaḍā who was a feudatory of Jadunāth Bhañja, and whose sister Hari Bābu had married. Hari Bābu entered Nilgiri with a few men from Kaptipaḍā and a number of *pāiks* from Nilgiri under the command of a relation of the Rājā of Kaptipaḍā, named Bali Bābu. The insurgents induced two wild tribes of the Nilgiri forests, named Kurmis and Bunrijis, to help them. By plundering the villages, stealing the cattle and devastating the whole country, they compelled the entire population to join them. Then they advanced upon the Qila,' and the Rāṇi fled to the plains. There was a post guarded by one Ḥāvildār and ten Sepoys which they were afraid to attack. The Ḥāvildār sent intimation of the rising and Mr. Ricketts went to Nilgiri with the whole of the Balasore *pāiks* and two companies of regular troops from Medinipur. On reaching Nilgiri, Ricketts found that Hari and Bali were to be on the next night at a place 11 miles from Nilgiri on their way back to Kaptipaḍā. He made a forced march but failed to capture the leaders. During the absence of Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja at Bāmanghāṭi his brother was acting as the regent and he too was implicated. Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja was ordered to deliver the principal leaders of the rising in Nilgiri. On receiving this notice Hari, Bali, and the Rājā of Kaptipaḍā were sent as prisoners and all prisoners taken and plunder restored. Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja futher held his brother responsible for all charges against him, but stated that he was innocent and was implicated by papers bearing his forged signature found in the Camp of Hari Bābu. Ricketts compelled the Rāṇi to dismiss her brother Śivacharaṇa Paṭṭanāyaka and ordered him to leave Nilgiri,

because his oppression was the real cause of the uprising. Hari Bābu and Bali Bābu were sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment in Balasore Jail. The Rājā of Kaptipaḍā was a mere boy and was released with other prisoners. The Governor-General approved of a fine of Rs. 500 imposed by Ricketts upon Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja, as he was the feudal superior of the Rājā of Kaptipaḍa. It was decided further that if Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja held the Rājā of Kaptipaḍā really culpable, then he should receive such punishment as the British Government might choose to inflict. The Governor-General accordingly remitted the fine of Rs. 500 and ordered the Rājā to be imprisoned up to any period less than six months at the discretion of the Commissioner.

In June 1835 Captain Wilkinson wanted to strengthen the States of Saraikela, Khārsāwan and Bāmanghāṭi, as they lay between the Lārkā Kols of Singhbhum and Dholbhum and Barahbhum. Secretly encouraged by the Rājā of Singhbhum these Kols committed depredations in British Territories as well as in neighbouring Indian States. Captain Wilkinson's efforts to persuade and secure these offenders through the Rājā of Singhbhum failed entirely, because the Rājā always shared in the plunder. Wilkinson now proposed to send troops to Sonpur consisting of 50 irregular horse and 250 men of the Rāmgaḍh battalion and a second detachment of 100 horse and 400 men of the Rāmgaḍh battalion with guns to Kera in Singhbhum, where they would be joined by troops sent from Saraikela and Kharsāwan. The Commanding Officer was to seize the Sardar under the Bābu of Kera. A third party of 100 men of the same battalion and 25 horse were to be sent as a

reserve to Tamar. These arrangements were approved by the previous Governor-General. The troops left their headquarters on the 3rd December, and destroyed several villages belonging to the Kol chief between the 19th and the 21st of that month. With one or two exceptions the Sardars of all *ḍākāits* were captured. A free pardon was extended to guilty villagers and four *Tāluqas* belonging to the *ḍākāits* were taken away from the Rājā of Tamar and given to other influential Sardars.

We learn from a dispatch of the Government of Bengal in the Judicial and Revenue Department, No. 8 of 1837, dated the 11th February 1837, that on account of the disturbances in Bāmanghāṭi and Singhbhum, the mail was very often interrupted on the road to Bombay. Captain Wilkinson suggested that the *Pīrs* of the Kols should be thoroughly punished and destroyed. He suggested the use of two regular battalions and a brigade of guns in addition to the Rāmgaḍh battalion and the irregular horse and the two brigades of guns attached to it. Wilkinson also suggested that all Kol *Pīrs* should be taken directly under British Administration from the Rājās of Mayurbhañj and Singhbhum, the Kumār of Saraikela and the Chief of Kharsāwan and placed under a European officer with 500 men of the Rāmgaḍh battalion, a brigade of guns and a hundred horse at a cost of Rs. 30,400. These proposals were sanctioned by the Government of India on the 3rd of October and punitive measures carried out.

Very little now remains to be told of the History of Orissa. There was no disturbance at Katak, Puri or Balasore during the Mutiny of 1857, but there was consider-

able disturbance in Sambalpur, which had lapsed to the British Government upon the failure of the direct line in 1850. Up to 1857 Sambalpur remained attached to the South-Western Frontier Agency of Bengal. Before the death of Nārāyaṇ Singh, the last Rājā of Sambalpur, his relation, Surendra Sāhi, was kept in prison at the instance of the Rājā himself in the Jail at Hazaribagh. He was released by Mutineer Sepoys in August 1856 and came back to Sambalpur. During the Mutiny he claimed the *Gadi* of Sambalpur and failing to recover it, he rebelled and was joined by most of the chiefs and land-holders of the surrounding country. A military detachment sent from Katak failed to subdue the rebellion, on account of the hilly and thickly wooded nature of the country. Even after the proclamation of the Royal Amnesty at the close of 1858 the Sambalpur rebels did not surrender. The British authority was confined to the headquarters only, while the rebels plundered the cultivated tracts and inhabited areas from their strongholds in the forests. The Sambalpur rebellion continued till 1861 when additional troops were sent and further concessions promised to the rebels by the Government of Bengal. The leaders surrendered one by one and Surendra Sāhi, the chief leader, surrendered in May 1862 and was pardoned. In 1862 Sir Richard Temple, then officiating Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, states in his administrative report of those Provinces that "The Dependencies of Sumbulpore consist of the Gurjat Tributary States, 13 in number, as named in the margin *viz*: 1. Patna, 2. Sonepore, 3. Bamra, 4. Kalahundy, 5. Khurriar, 6. Rehracole, 7. Raigurh, 8. Burgurh, 9. Sarungurh,

10, Phooljur, 11, Suktee, 12, Bendra Nowagurh and 13. Bora Samur." Further on Sir Richard Temple defines the position of these subordinate chiefs of Sambalpur in 1862 in the following words :

"377. The Chiefs are under the political control of British authority. In the management of their territories, they are practically independent under ordinary circumstances, except as regards the Administration of Criminal Justice. In that department they stand virtually towards the British Officer in the relation of Magistrates towards the Sessions Judge ; and they have always administered the Criminal Laws of the British Government. It has now been recommended that the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Act should be extended to the Gurjat Tributary States, and that the Chiefs should be gazetted as Magistrates."[1]

In 1866 Sir Richard Temple caused an enquiry to be made into the status of the zamindars and other petty chieftains of the Central Provinces. In this report, forwarded to the Government of India on the 31st October 1863, such chiefs are divided into three broad classes :

I. The Nagpur zamindars,

II. The Sambalpur Gurhjat Chiefs,

III. The Rajas and others of the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories.[2]

Further on Jenkins' report of 1827 is quoted in support of the statement that the zamindaris of Chhattisgaḍh

[1] *Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces up to August 1862. Reprinted Nagpur 1923, pp. 78-79.*

[2] *Reprint of Report on the Zamindaris and other Petty Chieftaincies of the Central Provinces in 1863, Nagpur, 1923, p. 2.*

proper and Kondwan were held on service tenure under the Haihayas of Ratanpur and Raipur, but this tenure was changed by the Marathas into a cash payment of tribute.[1] In 1819 the Bhonsle Rājā enquired into the status of these dependent chieftains through its European officers. This enquiry left "The Chieftains on sufferance, entire masters of their own lands and people so long as, by regularly paying their tributes and rendering feudal service and obeisance, they fulfilled the condition of good behaviour." In 1819 when the British Government had taken possession of Chhattisgaḍh their power was restricted by new engagements and the British Government decided that "A liberal system should be pursued towards them, it being considered of much more consequence, in the actual state of the country, to reconcile and attach these Tributaries to the new order of things, than by endeavouring to gain an inconsiderable financial benefit, or by stretching a doubtful prerogative, incur the risk of exciting discontent amongst them, or rendering it necessary to coerce them in parts of the country unfavourable to the prosecution of military operations." The Tribute of these chiefs was continued at its former figure, but the chiefs were prohibited from having recourse to arms against their neighbours for the settlement of disputes. Their powers of inflicting punishments on their own people were restricted. They were bound down to abstain from capital punishments and to submit to the awards of the Government District Officers in cases of appeal from their own decisions. Further, the right of transit duties was taken away from all of these zamindars. The only

[1] *Ibid.*, *p. 5.*

zamindar or chief who was regarded as being sufficiently high in rank in the whole of British Central Provinces as it stood at that day was the Chief of Bastar, and Chhattisgaḍh continued in this state till 1854, when the dominions of the Bhonsles were confiscated by Dalhousie according to his Doctrine of Lapse. How far the chiefs of the Sambalpur Garhjat states were below the premier chiefs of the Orissa Garhjat in rank is proved by the fact that income tax was collected from them. By Act XXV of 1861 some of them were recognised as magistrates. Only the Rājā of Bastar was left practically independent in all matters, Judicial or Fiscal, and the only curtailment of his power was the total abolition of transit duties throughout his state also. Further the Sambalpur Gurhjat chiefs were held like ordinary people, to be "As amenable as others to the nearest Government Courts, whether for the commission of crime, or, when sued in petty matters of dispute, by, it may be, their own people."[1] Till the treaty of 1829 Mayurbhañj certainly possessed the right of levying transit duties through its territories, as perhaps did all other Garhjat chiefs of Orissa unlike the zamindars of Sambalpur, Sonpur and Patna. In a report by H. Ricketts, B. C. S., dated the 31st January 1854, on the district of Singhbhum it is admitted, in paragraph 152, that the right of collecting *Sayar* or transit duties was still enjoyed by Mayurbhañj :—"Great complaints were also made of the Rājā Mohurbunge and his officers, who will not allow a trader to move without taxing him in territory."

The first special report on the Garhjat States of Sambalpur was submitted by :Major J. B. Impey, Deputy

[1] *Ibid., pp. 6-7, paras 20-25.*

Commissioner of Sambalpur on the 11th June 1863. Impey held the origin of the Sambalpur Garhjat chiefs to be not clearly known, but that it was alleged with certainty that it was very ancient. Originally these States were administered from Ranchi. The first settlement made with them in 1819 was renewed in 1827 and though this settlement purported to be for five years only, they were never renewed. "In practice the powers (Judicial and Police) were limited to the infliction of seven years', afterwards reduced to six months', imprisonment. In the Civil and Revenue Departments, the Chiefs were nominally possessed of absolute powers, but they seem nevertheless to have been controlled. Non-interference is said to have been the prevailing policy but in practice, interference was the principle followed. This practice, however, does not seem to have been carried out to any material extent. Virtually, perhaps the chiefs did decide all cases without much risk of reversal on appeal to the Agent of the Governor-General, South Western Frontier."[1] The management of the Sambalpur Garhjat chiefs was transferred to the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, Katak, and it was ordered that "matters should be conducted in precisely the same way as when the estates of these Chieftains formed a part of the Chhotta-Nagpur Division." But in 1862 Sambalpur was transferred to the Central Provinces and the powers of the Garhjat chiefs were reduced "to those conferred by Act XXV of 1861 on Magistrates and Subordinate Magistrates and each chief was duly invested, according to his position and ability."[2] After an analysis of the entire situation regarding

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

the present and past status of the Sambalpur Garhjat chiefs Sir Richard Temple decided that "The present status of these Garhjat Chiefs of Sambalpur......is not different from the status of the Nagpur zamindars......Both the Sambalpur Garhjat Chiefs......and the Nagpur Zamindars pay a variable money tribute." In a note on the same page the same authority states that "This remark does not of course apply to the two Garhjats of the Sambalpur and Patna groups, which are stated in the note to para 30, above, have always been under the superintendence of the Cuttack Tributary Mahals. It is to be presumed that these Garhjats have been treated on the same footing as the Cuttack Mahals. And from Messrs. Ricketts' and Mill's Reports, published in No. III of Bengal Selections for 1861 ; also Mr. J. H. Crawford's Report, dated 12th June 1852, published in No. XI, and Mr. Ricketts' Memorandum, published in No. XX of the Bengal Selections, the policy pursued towards those chieftainships would seem to have been more systematic and definite than that which has been described above as having been pursued to those of the original Sambalpur and Patna Garhjats which were superintended from Chhota Nagpur."

Some further changes remain to be noticed. Two of the Garhjat States originally under the Patna and Sambalpur group, Baudh and Athmallik, were transferred from the Ranchi Agency to the Superintendent of Cuttack Tributary Mahals in 1837. At the transfer of 1861, Gangpur and Bonai remained with Chhota Nagpur.

In 1842 engagements were entered into with the following chiefs to secure the prevention of the practice of "Suttee,"

1.	Narsinghpur	9.	Tigiria
2.	Nayāgaḍh	10.	Baudh
3.	Baramba	11.	Talcher
4.	Hindol	12.	Dhenkanal
5.	Ranpur	13.	Nilgiri
6.	Angul	14.	Mayurbhañj
7.	Daspalla· Jormu	15.	Keunjhar
8.	Āṭhgaḍh	16.	Aṭhmallik

17. Pāl Lāharā[1]

On the 11th March, 1862, Lord Canning granted the *Sanad* of right of adoption to the following Chiefs of Orissa :

1.	Mayurbhañj	9.	Tigiria
2.	Keunjhar	10.	Baramba
3.	Nilgiri	11.	Khandapara
4.	Dhenkanal	12.	Nayāgaḍh
5.	Daspalla	13.	Ranpur
6.	Talcher	14.	Āṭhgaḍh
7.	Hindol	15.	Pāl Laharā
8.	Narsinghpur	16.	Baudh

17. Aṭhmallik

In the time of Lord Northbrook *Sanads* conferring the hereditary title of Rajah were granted to the chiefs of Tributary States of Orissa on the 21st May 1874.[2]

Four years after the issue of adoption *Sanads* to the chiefs of Orissa proper, *Sanads* of the right of adoption dated the 20th May, 1865, were granted to the chiefs of Bamra, Kalahandi, Patna and Sonpur on the 23rd May, 1866.[3] A similar *Sanad* dated 23rd May, 1866, was granted to

1. *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. 1, Calcutta 1909. pp. 313-18.*
2. *Ibid., p. 318.*
3. *Ibid. pp. 391-92 and 358-360.*

Rājā Vishṇu Chandra Jenāmaṇi of Rairākhol. After the recognition of the zamindars and petty chiefs of the Central Provinces as feudatory chiefs in 1865 a fresh *Sanad* was granted by Mr. J. H. Morris, Officiating Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, on the 4th September 1867 to Rājā Vishṇu Chandra Jenāmaṇi of Rāirākhol, Rājā Tribhuvan Dev Bahādur of Bāmrā, Rājā Nilādri Nāth Singh Dev of Sonpur, Rājā Udit Pratap Dev of Karond or Kalahandi and Mahārājā Sur Pratap Dev of Patna. By this treaty the inferior position of these five chiefs was denoted by the increase of tribute according to the following rates :

1. Rairakhol Rs. 580
2. Bamra Rs. 350
3. Sonpur Rs. 5000
4. Kalahandi Rs. 3,550
5. Patna Rs. 600

So even in the case of Patna, the poorest of the Sambalpur Garhjat States, the revenue was raised from Rs. 562-8-0 settled in 1827 [1] to Rs. 600 in 1867. The tributes paid by Sonpur and Kalahandi are not known and therefore the amount of increase forty years later cannot be determined. Another new condition imposed by this *Sanad* was the introduction of *Ābkārī* Regulations. These five chiefs were ordered to manage their *Ābkārī* Revenue in such a manner "as not to interfere with the revenue of adjacent British territory." Further, they were threatened with a further increase of their tribute if *Ābkārī* Revenue declined in British territory on account

[1] *Ibid., Vol. I of 1862 edition, p. 173.*

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of increase in their *Ābkāri* revenue according to the following rates :

1. Rāirākhol Rs. 1000
2. Bāmrā Rs. 500
3. Sonpur Rs. 1000
4. Kalahandi Rs. 1000
5. Patna Rs. 1000 [1]

The lower status of these five chiefs was slightly raised but with a corresponding rise in their tribute by Lord Minto in 1905. On that date the following chiefs were raised from the State of Tributary Chiefs of a Garhjat State to the rank of a Feudatory Chief :

1. Bāmrā—Rs. 1500 from 1888 to 1908 subject to revision at the expiration of 20 years.

2. Kalahandi—Rs. 12000 from 1888 to 1908 subject to revision at the end of these 20 years.

3. Patna—Rs. 8500 for the same period subject to revision at the end.

4. Rāirākhol—Rs. 800 for the same period subject to revision according to the same precedent.

5. Sonpur—Rs. 9000 for the same period subject to revision according to the four precedents mentioned above.

The clause about the further increase of tribute of these five states in case of mismanagement of *Ābkāri* revenue in their own states to the detriment of such revenue in British territory is also present. By the *Sanad* of 1905 the tribute of Kalahandi was increased by Rs. 8450, that of Patna by Rs. 7900, that of Rāirākhol by

[1] *Ibid., edition of 1909 pp. 359-60.*

Rs. 220 and that of Sonpur by Rs. 4000 after 38 years. So the principle of enhancement of tribute at regular intervals with these Sambalpur chiefs remained a recognised fact even after their exaltation to the rank of feudatory chiefs.

After the lapse of 65 years a new engagment was entered into with the chiefs of Orissa proper, especially Mayurbhañj, and a larger period in case of others. Lord Elgin, on the 22nd October 1894 granted fresh *Sanads* to the following chiefs of Orissa :

1. Āṭhgaṛh
2. Āṭhmallik
3. Baṛāmbā
4. Baudh
5. Daspalla
6. Dheṅkānāl
7. Hindol
8. Keuñjhar
9. Khaṇḍapārā
10. Mayurbhañj
11. Narshinghpur
12. Nayāgaḍh
13. Nilgiri
14. Pāl Laharā
15. Ranpur
16. Tālcher
17. Tigiria[1]

The framework of all the *Sanads* of 1894 is the same. The preamble begins with the sentence that the position of all these chiefs has hitherto been undefined and doubt existed from time to time about it. By these *Sanads* the tribute was raised to the following amounts

1. Āṭhgaṛh—Rs. 2800
2. Āṭhmallik—Rs. 4010
3. Baṛāmbā—Rs. 1397-15-5.
4. Baudh—Rs. 800
5. Daspalla—Rs. 661-7-11.
6. Dheṅkānāl—Rs. 5099-0-9.

[1] *Ibid., pp. 319-36.*

7. Hindol—Rs. 551-3-11.
8. Keuñjhar—Rs. 1710-1-3.
9. Khaṇḍapārā—Rs. 4211-8-8.
10. Mayurbhañja—Rs. 1067-11-9.
11. Narsinghpur—Rs. 1455-8-3
12. Nayāgaḍh—Rs. 5525-4-1.
13. Nilgiri—Rs. 3900-7-8.
14. Pāl Laharā—Rs. 266-10-8.
15. Ranpur—Rs. 1400-13-2
16. Tālcher—Rs. 1039-10-5
17. Tigiria—Rs. 882

It will be evident from these figures that the increase in the tribute of all states of Orissa except the Sambalpur Garhjat states was nominal. The tribute of Mayurbhañj was Rs. 1001 in 1829 and for years before that date. After 65 years the British Government raised it by Rs. 66 only. There is another reason for this very slight increase in the tribute of the Garhjat states of Orissa proper. In 1803 the rupee current in Bengal was the *Sikkā* rupees of 17 annas weight issued from the Mints at Calcutta, Patna and Benares. The corresponding rupee of William IV of 1835 and Queen Victoria of 1837-40 weight 16 annas only like the modern rupees of George V. This accounts for the very slight increase in the tribute of Mayurbhañj, etc. The enormous increase in the tribute of the Sambalpur Garhjat States and Chattisgaḍh States like Kālāhaṇḍi show that in 1867 and in 1905 they were treated as Oudh Taluqdars or Orissa zamindars inspite of their nominal recognition as feudatory chiefs. Though the British Government formally recognised the

Orissa chiefs as Rājās in 1894, the non-increase in their tribute proves that they held the same status as they did in 1803 and they were really much superior in rank to all Sambalpur Garhjat and Chattisgaḍh chiefs except Bastar. No new *sanad* was granted to Mayurbhañj after 1894 up to 1909.

The chief of Baudh executed a *Qabūliyat* in November 1821 agreeing to pay Rs. 3750 *kaldar sikka* for a period of five years from 1821 to 1825. The name of the chief was then Chandra Śekhar Dev. His successor executed another agreement on the 17th February 1827. These two engagements were executed at a time when the Baudh State possessed the territory of Āṭhmallik[1] also. On the 30th May 1819, *i. e.*, immediately after the reconquest of Chhattisgaḍh in 1818, Āṭhmallik was constituted a separate State and a *Qabūliyat* was executed by Lāchandra, the *Sāmanta* of Āṭhmallik.[2] His tribute was fixed at Rs. 3600 and consequently when a fresh *Sanad* was granted to Raja Pītāmbar Dev of Baudh in 1875 his tribute was reduced to Rs. 800.[3] Baudh had suffered heavily from alienation and confiscation between 1818 and 1875. The Khond Mahals were taken away from it and assimilated to the British district of Angul, and Āṭhmallik was created a separate State. In 1875 the tribute of Āṭhmallik was fixed at Rs. 480.

After the engagement entered into with Messrs. Harcourt and Melville in 1803-04, the next engagement entered into was a *Sanad* granted by Lord Elgin on the

1 *Ibid., p. 338, No. CXX.*

2 *Ibid., pp. 338-39. No. CXXI.*

3 *Ibid., p. 341, No. CXXV.*

28th October 1898. For some reasons not known as yet the *Sanad* to Keuñjhar was not granted in 1894 when similar *Sanads* were granted to the rest of the Garhjat Chiefs. There was great trouble after the death of Gadādhar Nārāyaṇ Bhañja of Keuñjhar on the 22nd March 1861. Rājā Gadādhar died at Triveṇi near Chinsura in Bengal, leaving a widow and two illegitimate children. One of these, Dhanurjay, was placed on the *gadi* by the Diwan, on the 3rd April. But six days later, Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja of Mayurbhañj represented that his grandson Brindāvan had been adopted by Rājā Gadādhar Nārāyaṇ of Keuñjhar and that he was going to instal this boy. Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja was directed by the Superintendent of Orissa Feudatory States not to take any active part in the affair, but inspite of this warning Jadunāth sent Brindāvan to Keuñjhar, where he was secretly installed by the Rāṇi and some of the principal nobles. Later on the story of the adoption was proved to be false. The claims of Dhanurjay and Brindāvan were investigated by the Superintendent and that of Dhanurjay upheld according to Regulation XI of 1816. Rājā Jadunāth Bhañja appealed on behalf of Brindāvan to the High Court at Calcutta and finally to the Privy Council. After the decision of the Superintendent, Dhanurjay was recognised as the Rājā. In January 1867 Ravenshaw informed the Bengal Government that the Rājā would attain his majority in September, but the Rāṇi petitioned that installation should be postponed till the decision of the Privy Council was obtained. The Rājā was escorted by 700 or 800 heads of villages from Katak, where he was studying, to Ānandapur in Keuñjhar; but it became evident in November that the Rāṇi was raising

the hill tribes against Rājā Dhanurjay and she threatened to leave Keuñjhar if the young Rājā entered the palace. A large deputation of hill-men proceeded to Calcutta on deputation to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who assured them that Dhanurjay would be placed on the *gadi* unless Brindāvan's appeal was admitted by the Privy Council. In December 1863, Dhanurjay was formally installed by Ravenshaw, but the former's condition was very helpless and therefore 40 armed constables had to be left to protect him. In January 1868 the old Rāṇī moved out of Keuñjhar and there was a rising of Bhuiyās and Juāngs. Ravenshaw persuaded her to return on the 13th February and she was present at the installation of Rājā Dhanurjay by the Bhuiyās according to ancient customs. She received a pension of Rs. 600 per month and by the end of February 20 constables were removed from Keuñjhar. The Bhuiyās suddenly broke out into open rebellion in April under Ratnā Nāyak and Nandā Nāyak. They plundered Keuñjhar, carried off the Diwān with about a hundred people, disarmed the British Sepoys, (only 20 in number), and dismounted the Rājā's guns. Dr. Hayes, Deputy Commissioner of Singhbhum, started for Keuñjhar with armed police and a body of Kols and reached that place on the 7th May. He released the Rājā from the siege. In the meanwhile more police and troops were sent by the Bengal Government and Colonel Dalton, Commissioner of Chhota Nagpur was placed in charge of the affairs of Keuñjhar and Ravenshaw ordered to send in supplies from Katak. Dalton arrived at the end of June, but on the 27th May a party of police coming from Ānandapur were

attacked and lost their baggage while retiring. Another party of police and large re-enforcements were sent from Chhota Nagpur and *via* Dhenkānāl. In June Dr. Hayes was in complete possession of the plains, but he was too weak to attack the hill tribes. Dalton arrived at the end of June and Ravenshaw in July. They insisted upon an unqualified surrender of the ring-leaders of the rebellion and delivery of the prisoners. Then it was learnt that the unfortunate *Diwān* had been murdered a few days after his capture. The neighbouring Rājās sent troops to quell the rebellion according to their engagements. Troops were received from the Rājās of Mayurbhañj, Dhenkānāl, Bonāi, Pāl Laharā and Udaypur. On the 1st August, 25 Bhuiyā leaders submitted and the same number of Juāng leaders surrendered to the Rājā of Udaypur. On the 15th of the same month Ratnā Nāyak and Nandā Nāyak were captured. After the trials six leaders were sentenced to death and the 100 others to different terms of imprisonment.[1] Two interesting documents have been printed regarding the Keuñjhar rebellion of 1868 in the reprint of Sir Richard Temple's Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces. The first of these is a report from Ravenshaw dated the 24th June 1870. We learn from the second paragraph of this report that on account of the rebellion, the State was taken under Government management and Captain Johnstone posted at Keuñjhar to assist the Rājā in the management of the State. At the end of the disturbances Ravenshaw found that Rs. 1,30,327-3-2½ was due from the Keuñjhar State as the cost of quelling the rebellion and this amount was

[1] *Bengal District Gazetteer, Orissa Feudatory States, pp. 215-22.*



General View of the Temple of Mukteśvara
Bhuvaneśvara—Puri District

constantly increasing. As the Rājā of Mayurbhañj was directly implicated in supporting the claims of Brindāban and therefore in the Bhuinyā and Juāng rebellions, Ravenshaw proposed to realise half of this amount, Rs. 65,163-10-0, from him. Maharaja Jadunāth Bhañja of Mayurbhañj had died in 1863 and had been succeeded by Rājā Śrināth Bhañja. Śrināth died in 1868, during the rebellion, and was succeeded by Kṛishṇachandra Bhañja and this chief was ruling over Mayurbhañj in 1870 when Ravenshaw's proposals for inflicting this sum on that State were sent in. Ravenshaw's actual proposal was to obtain this fine from the revenues of Bāmanghāṭi which was then under Government management. Ravenshaw further proposed to realise half of the cost of the army of occupation and the salary of Captain Johnstone and his establishment from the Keuñjhar State and proposed to pay the other half from the British revenues. He was extremely liberal towards the Keuñjhar State, because he proposed that the Government should bear half of the cost of quelling the rebellion of the hill-tribes in that case and that the other half only should be realised from Keuñjhar. The amount thus proposed to be realised from the State was Rs. 32,581-14-0 or Rs. 33,000 and this Ravenshaw proposed to obtain by increasing the tribute by Rs. 1320 with interest on the capital at 4 per cent.[1] Captain Johnstone in his report made certain interesting revelations. The Rājā was a well-disposed boy and possessed some capacity but he was devoid of gratitude and had disgusted the few men who were formerly interested in him. In

[1] *Reprint of Report on the Zamindaris and other petty Chieftaincies in the Central Provinces in 1863, Nagpur, 1923, App. 1-28.*

1870 he had not a single sincere friend. There was a strong party in the State against him who were determined to get rid of the Rājā at any cost. There was a strong impression in the State that there would be another rebellion as soon as Government supervision ceased.[1]

Of the 11 distinct chieftainships of the Sambalpur Garhjats mentioned by Sir Richard Temple in 1863 the account of Bamra, Sonpur, Patna and Rerhakhol have been fully dealt with. The remaining States, though once under the *pseudo* Chauhan chiefs of Patna and Sambalpur, now belong to the Central Provinces. The chiefs of Raigaḍh-cum-Bargaḍh, Sakti and Sarangaḍh were recognised as feudatory chieftains by the Government according to the Bonds of Fealty, dated the 4th January 1866, executed by them at a Durbar held by the Chief Commissioner at Nagpur on the 4th of January 1866 when the adoption Sanad dated the 20th May 1865, were delivered by him to them. Sanads worded in the main like the Bond of Fealty and similar to that of Patna and other States of Sambalpur Group, were again granted to Raigaḍh and Sarangaḍh in 1867 dispensing with the Bond of Fealty, but the Chief of Sakti was not granted such a Sanad. The tribute of these States are liable to enhancement by the Government.[2]

The earlier part of British rule in Orissa is a long record of the sufferings of the poor people from natural calamities and from the callousness of the earlier generations of British Administrators. The only redeeming feature in the period following the Mutiny is the spread of

1 *Ibid., pp. 26-27.*

2 *Aitchison—Treaties, etc., 1909, pp. 391-92 and 444-448.*

education in which at the beginning European ministers of the Christian Gospel played the leading part. After the establishment of the Calcutta University the educated and liberal-minded Bengali appeared in a new role in Orissa. He went as he had gone to Bihar, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Rajputana, and Central India and the Northern portion of the Central Provinces as the pioneer of Western education and culture. Bengali teachers conferred great benefit on the people of Orissa and many an educated Oṛiyā gratefully remembers the kindness, infinite tact and above all the vast learning of many Bengali teachers and professors.

Of natural calamities the most dangerous are floods, inundations from the sea and famines. From time immemorial the northern part of the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal has suffered from cyclones during the months of September-October. Balasore being situated close to Bengal is liable to the south-western monsoons of April and May also. In this district cyclones were recorded on the 27th May 1823, 31st October 1831 and again in October 1832. The most violent cyclones of recent years were those of 1872, 1885 and 1887. The cyclone of 1832 was followed by a severe drought in 1833 and from 1831 to 1833 more than 50,000 thousand people perished in the district. The cyclone of 1872 was followed by a tidal wave which caused great destruction of property throughout the district. The cyclone of 1885 caused more damage in the Katak district than in Balasore. In addition to cyclone and tidal waves the Balasore district suffers from inundations of rivers. The Suvarṇarekhā, the Burābālang, the Vaitariṇī, all are liable to periodical inundations, and the

flood waters of the Suvarṇarekhā have sometimes travelled twelve miles inland. In 1868 a fortnight's heavy rain caused a flood which was the highest within the memory of men. Another disastrous flood occurred in 1896 when the entire country remained under water for nearly a month. The last recorded great flood was that of 1900 when the water level rose more than 18 inches than all previously recorded heights. In all of these floods practically the whole of the cattle were destroyed though loss of life was not so severe.

Katak is as much liable to floods and tidal waves as Balasore. It is recorded that after 1830 floods of a serious nature occurred at least twenty-two times :—1831, 1834, 1848, 1851, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1862, 1866, 1868, 1872, 1874, 1877, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1885, 1892, 1894, 1895, 1896, and 1900. The highest flood of which there is any record was that of July 1855 when the Mahānadī rose to an enormous height and the embankments were breached at more than 1365 places and 52 square miles of land were left waste for fear of inundations. The next great flood was that of 1872 when 1135 square miles in the Katak district and 1070 in the Puri district remained flooded out of which 600 were under water for a fortnight. Towards the close of the century the most serious floods were those of 1892 and 1896. In 1896 the great rivers Brāhmaṇi, Baitaraṇi as well as the Mahānadi rose to great height and for fifteen days the flood water remained on the fields destroying the crops. The most terrible cyclone was that of 1885. It burst upon the coast on the 22nd September 1885 at False Point and a wave, 22 ft. high at once submerged the village of Jambu and wiped it away. The storm was specially disastrous

in the Jājpur and Kendrāpāṛā sub-divisions. In Jājpur alone 300 men lost their lives, 2447 villages were damaged and nearly 50,000 houses were destroyed. About 2973 cattle were killed. In the Kendrāpāṛā sub-division about 5,000 people were drowned, 10,000 cattle lost, 11 villages were completely swept away. The best rice-growing tracts in the Kanikā estate were converted into brackish wastes. The next important cyclone was that of 1890, when a tidal wave affected a considerable part of the Kujang estate. All standing crops were destroyed and the tanks and wells filled with brackish water.[1]

Puri, the third district of the Mughalbandi, is also liable to river-floods and tidal waves. In the Puri district the rivers run dry in the summer and then salt water from the sea flows into the dry channels and when the rivers are not embanked the salt water overflows, or if the tide is high the water escapes from the top of the embankment and destroys the crops in the fields. The years 1872, 1892 and 1896 were remarkable for floods. The most serious inundation was that of 1866 when 275 square miles were submerged from five to forty-five days. The water was not less than three feet deep at any place and in certain villages it was 10 feet in depth.[2]

Generally speaking, the whole of Orissa is barren and unproductive compared to the rich deltas of the great rivers and the Malabar country. The yield of the harvest is also poor and irrigation is required in many tracts to produce any crops at all. Consequently Orissa has suffered from famine from time immemorial. Famines

[1] *Bengal District Gazetteer, Cuttack, pp. 114-18.*

[2] *Ibid., Puri, pp. 165-68.*

were of frequent occurrence before the opening of the Railways from Madras to Puri and from Puri to Calcutta. Famines of a less severe nature occur with regularity even now and are called scarcities in official records. The greatest famines of Orissa of the Maratha period were those of 1770 and 1780. In 1770 rice was sold at less than two seers to the rupee and thousands of people died. Land lay untilled for years and in 1780 most of the country was waste. There was famine in 1792-93 and again in 1803. The greatest famine of the British period was that of 1865-66. The callousness of officials made the calamity more severe. The quantity of food exported from Balasore was unusually large in 1865. The officials did not take any steps even when the harvest failed, as they could not realise the gravity of the situation and no special enquiries were instituted. It was discovered suddenly in May 1866 that there were not sufficient food grains in the markets to feed the prisoners in the jails and the Government officials. Importation of grain by sea had become impossible, as the southern monsoon had started and Orissa was totally isolated from the rest of India, as the only road to Calcutta and Madras was without any bridges and unmetalled. Nearly 1,000,000 people died of starvation and diseases. The Government succeeded in importing 10,000 tons of food grains only at the end of November. This is a general account of the whole of Orissa. In Balasore the rice crop was exceptionally good in 1864. In 1865 the crops were ruined at the end of October. Prices rose to 11 seers per rupee in November. Early in 1866 the poorer people started plundering the houses of their richer neighbours and began to

flock into the town. The Government succeeded in importing rice by ships in June but this was interrupted in the middle of July and at that time and in the first half of August thousands of people died in Balasore town. In a village ten miles south of Bhadrak rice sold at one rupee a seer on the 25th August. Distress was not relieved till the new rice crop was in the market. The next famine was that of 1897 on account of excessive rain-fall and floods. But no rice had to be imported and people were relieved by the new railway works.[1]

During the British period Katak had suffered from famine in 1806, 1808, 1809, 1817, 1828, 1836, 1837 and 1842. But the greatest famine was that of 1865-66, In 1866 floods of the Mahānadi destroyed the crops in the district and half of Katak was devastated. In January 1867 forty deaths were reported every day on the average from starvation. The scarcity was not over till 1868. Like Balasore, Katak suffered from another severe famine in 1896-97[2]. High caste Hindus who had taken food in Government cooking houses were expelled from their caste and formed a new caste or sub-sect of castes called *Sattra-khiyā*, which however is fast disappearing.

In the Puri district, which is more fertile than the others, the most severe famine was that of 1865-66. The scarcity began in this district in October 1865. Crops failed in 1864, there was regular drought in 1865 and standing crops were destroyed by inundations in August 1866. Therefore the famine was more severely felt in this district than in any other part of Orissa. It began earlier in Puri than in

[1] *Ibid., Balasore, pp. 66-104.*

[2] *Ibid., Cuttack, pp. 107-14.*

Katak or Balasore. A little rice was imported from the south across the Chilka Lake in boats but it failed to meet the demand. Before the Ganjam supply arrived, the price of rice in the Puri district was six seers to the rupee and after its arrival it fell to $7^1/_4$ seers to a rupee. The Government now imported 2549 bags, which were being sold in the Bazar at 6 local seers or 7 7/8th seers standard. Another steamer arrived at the roadstead with a cargo of 12476 bags, but the monsoon set in and the cargo had to be landed with very great difficulty and the entire cargo took seven weeks to reach the land. But a brig which had brought 1500 bags of rice from Gopalpur in Ganjam was forced to return without discharging its cargo. There was great distress throughout the district and in August the Collector was compelled to restrict the sale of rice to each individual to one rupee a day and on the 13th of this month sale of rice had to be stopped altogether. On the last day of the month another ship arrived with 7453 bags and in September relief operations were largely extended. Another dearth of rice took place in October and the Collector was compelled to sell eight annas' worth of rice only to each applicant and then to stop the sale altogether. Relief works continued from the stock in hand and one of the *Mahānts* of a *Maṭh* supplied 15000 maunds of unhusked rice for free distribution. New stocks were imported into the district in November and sales began. With the approach of new rice famine abated. The greatest mortality was in the month of August when thousands of people died both :from starvation and through the eating of uncooked rice by paupers.



Bhaskareśvara Temple East, Bhubaneśvara

APPENDIX V

BENGALIS AND EARLY BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

Jadab Chandra Chatterji, the father of the celebrated Bengali *Litterateur*, wrote a very short autobiography, which has been published in recent times by his grandson, Mr. Sachish Chandra Chatterji, in the now defunct Bengali magazine, *Sahitya*. Unfortunately the editor of this autobiography could not read his grandfather's crabbed hand-writing and has left out certain portions. This short account is full of first-hand information about early British misrule and the tyranny of Bengali petty officials in Orissa. Jadab Chandra was born on the 18th Pausha 1201 B. S. (December 1794). He ran away to Orissa at the age of sixteen, where his elder brother was already in Government service at Bhadrak. At the age of 18, Jadab Chandra was appointed in place of his brother as *Darogha* of the Salt-Excise Office at Jajpur. Jadab Chandra states that he was eighteen in 1817 and also that he was born in B. S. 1201. The date of his birth is correct, because towards the end of the account he states that his age was 79 on the 15th of Vaisakha 1279 B. S. but the Bengali *San* began in 597-98 A. D. and therefore his age must have been 23 when he received his first appointment on the 2nd January 1817. He remained in service at Jajpur till the 15th November 1821. In this year he was transferred to Balihanta. There is a gap in the autobiography on account of the whim of the editor, which is exceedingly unfortunate, as the subsequent

portions are full of accounts of the dishonesty of Bengali officials of the Salt Department of Orissa.

When Bishnumohan Mitra, the officer-in-charge of the retail godown of salt in Bhadrak, was removed from his post on account of dishonesty, Jadab Chandra was appointed to that charge by Charles Becher, the Agent of the Honourable East India Company for Salt in Orissa. Some time after his appointment Orissa was divided into three districts and Bhadrak came to be included in the district of Balasore. Sir John Downey became the Agent of the Salt Department of Balasore and a Musalman named Askari Fekrat became his *Diwan* (Manager). The name Askari Fekrat cannot be identified, but we can glean from the subsequent narrative that he was a Musalman. Askari is a Musalman name, but the correct form of Fekrat cannot be determined. Evidently Mr. Sachish Chandra Chatterji could not read this part of the manuscript. The Bhadrak retail godown being a very remunerative place, Askari Fekrat appointed his own brother to that charge and dismissed Jadab Chandra. Jadab Chandra had seven or eight thousand rupees of Government cash in his charge. When he was making over this amount to his successor, he noticed that the new *Darogha* was keeping count by counting the beads of his rosary (*Tasbih*) and instead of signing the charge sheet used his seal. These two incidents prove that the brother of *Diwan* Askari Fekrat was illiterate.

In 1823 Jadab Chandra was appointed *Darogha* of Salt at Saratha by Mr. William Bellent, where he served for a year. He was transferred to Dasmalang in 1824 and to another place in 1825. At this time another Bengali

worthy, named Brajamohan Ghoshal, was the *Diwan* of the Salt Department. Jadab Chandra states that, unable to bear his tyrrany, he resigned and returned to Bengal but Sir John Downey recalled him and appointed him Salt *Darogha* of Malang. He served at this station till 1834. Then Mr. Henry Rickett was Collector of Balasore. The dishonesty of Brajamohan Ghoshal and other officers became notorious, Sir John Downey was transferred, because he was a white man, Brajamohan Ghoshal was placed on suspension and about six hundred officials, mostly Bengalis, were accused of dishonesty and dismissed from service. Another Bengali, named Brajananda Das, was appointed Dewan of the Salt Department. Mr. Henry Rickett became the Agent of the Salt Department and Jadab Chandra was called upon to stand his trial at Balasore. That Jadab Chandra Chatterji was not free from blame is apparent from his autobiography. The labourers of the salt Cotaurs under him received sixteen maunds of salt for consumption which they sold with his connivance. It was a grave offence in consideration of the fact that salt was a State monopoly. Jadab Chandra tried his best to justify his conduct by stating the poverty of the labourers in the Salt Pans. They were very poor and lived throughout the year on rice, salt water crab and some greens. Jadab Chandra stated that the money which they obtained by the illicit sale of salt sufficied to pay the rent of their land, which they cultivated for four months in the year. He admitted that he issued passports to places where salt was very dear so that his labourers might obtain a little extra profit. His candidness and popularity with his labourers saved him and Rickett

promoted him. In 1836 Jadab Chandra was appointed treasurer of the Collectorate of Medinipur and in 1838 was appointed a Deputy Magistrate. Henceforth his connection with Orissa proper ceased.[1]

The short autobiography of Jadab Chandra Chatterji is extremely valuable as a contemporary record of early British misrule in Orissa, the dishonesty and incompetence of Bengali subordinates when Western Education had not spread and the Oriya was practically uneducated. Embezzlements and fraud were common and among the ministerial establishments there were very few Musalmans and fewer Oriyas. The Bengali predominated and such Bengalis as served in Orissa up to 1838 were mostly of the type made notorious by Macaulay. Before the spread of Western Education the Oriya was more caste-ridden than ever and entirely subservient to the priest-hood, who spread the idea that Western Education would entail loss of caste and a special purgatory. Even the English administrators of Orissa were not much better than their Bengali minions, as proved by the transfer of Sir John Downey from the Salt Agentship of Balasore after the embezzlement of Brajamohan Ghoshal and the treasurer of the Collectorate of Medinipur under Mr. Stenforth, who was also transferred immediately afterwards.

Sahitya, Vol, XXIII (B. S. 1319), pp. 130-38.



Jagamohana of the Liṅgarāja--View from North
Bhuvaneśvara—Puri District

CHAPTER XXIX

MEDIAEVAL ARCHITECTURE.

There is a long gap after the 1st century B. C. in the history of Orissan Architecture, as in the case of her political history. It is extremely difficult to say at present how Orissan Architecture developed during the eight centuries which intervene between the second group of early cave temples of the Khandagiri-Udaygiri group of Jaina caves and the earliest mediæval temples. Our materials for these eight hundred years are yet very scanty with regard to the study of the evolution of art and totally non-existent with regard to architecture.

The earliest temples of mediæval Orissa are not earlier than the 7th century A.D. and at that date we find that a regular temple type had already been evolved, consisting of a sanctum (*Vimāna*) with a spire *(Śikhara)* and a hall *(Maṇḍapa* or according to Orissan architectural terminology, *Jagamohana)*. According to the literature on Indian Architecture, mediæval temples are divided into three classes : (*a*) *Nāgara,* pertaining to Nagara or Śrī-nagara, *i.e.*, Pāṭaliputra, the ancient metropolis of India, (*b*) *Drāviḍa* of the extreme south of India or the Tamil country and (*c*) *Veśara,* a term difficult to translate or denote, but which is generally taken to be South-West Indian or Early Chālukya. In the last century Fergusson divided Indian temples into three such precise classes : (*a*) Indo-Aryan, (*b*) Chālukyan and (*c*) Dravidian. His pioneer work contained the usual mistakes of all

beginners. He thought that Dharwar and Orissa were the ancient seats of the Indo-Aryan style, whereas now we know there is not a single temple in the whole of Dharwar district in the Indo-Aryan or the Nāgara style. Temples of the Southern Maratha country and the Karṇāṭak are as much *Nāgara* in style as the great Rājarājeśvara temple at Tanjore. It remains only to be demonstrated with illustrations that the *Śikhara* temples of Dharwar, later than the 10th century A. D., are examples of the permeation of the *Drāviḍa* style in a country which was originally entirely *Veśara*; just as the *Veśara* style once permeated into the Tamil country and influenced the the earliest temples of Conjeeveram.[1] This simple mistake of the Pioneer work on the history of Indian architecture was and is still being quoted in serious works on architecture in the present century. The late Mr. Mono Mohan Ganguly, B.E., writing in 1912, quotes this mistake of Fergusson *in toto*. Mr. Ganguly was an engineer by profession and a fairly qualified student of the History of Indian Architecture. Yet only seventeen years ago he said "to whichever part of India may we turn our attention, *e.g.*, Benares, Mathura, Brindaban, &c., we notice a curious mixture of the Indo-Aryan, Saracenic, and other styles. Orissa towers above all in solitary grandeur; this significant fact has raised it in the estimation of those who study the genesis and evolution of architecture in India from a scientific stand-point."[2] One is tempted to ask how many temples older than the 18th century in date

1 *Rea-Pallava Architecture.*

2 *Orissa and her remains—Ancient and Mediaeval, Calcutta, 1912, pp. 106-107.*

exist in a complete state in Benares, Mathurā and Brindāban ? The late Mr. Ganguly says nothing of the Khajuraho temple type, which is a sub-division of the *Nāgara* style, though situated in a remote out-of-the-way place of Central India. As a matter of fact, the Orissan style, though originally regarded as belonging to the *Nāgara* class, is not *Nāgara* at all. Even before the Muhāmmadan conquest the Orissan temple-type had come to be regarded as a separate style in Indian temple architecture. An inscription in the *Mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Amriteśvara temple at Hoḷal contains an interesting record. It serves as a label for the capital of a finely curved pillar, called *Śri-Kāra* in the inscription. The inscription records that the sculptor Bammoja, the pupil of Pādoja of Soge was a *Viśvakarman*, *i.e.*, architect of the Kali age and had mastered the sixty-four *Kalās* or arts and had invented (? studied) the four types of buildings, *viz.*, *Nāgara*, *Kāliṅga*, *Drāviḷa* (*Drāviḍa*), and *Veśara*.[1] This inscription from Hoḷal in the Bellary district proves that long before the Muhammadan conquest of Northern India the Architects of Kaliṅga had won for themselves separate recognition among contemporary architects all over India.

In the earliest type of the mediæval Orissa temple the three regular features, *viz.*, *Vimāna*, *Jagamohana* and *Śikhara*, are present in complete forms. During the six centuries of the existence of the Kaliṅgan type of temples new features were added and older ones were metamorphosed in form but remained constant factors. We do

[1] *Annual Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent, Southern Circle for Epigraphy, for 1915, Pp. 49, 90.*

not know of any instance of a flat-roofed temple of the Gupta period, like that of Bhumra, Nachna Kuthara and Lāḍ Khān's temple at Aihole,[1] in Orissa or the surrounding district, which were at one time within the zone of higher influence. There is a consensus of opinion among scholars that among mediæval temples of Orissa the Paraśurāmeśvara of Bhuvaneśvara is the oldest.[2] This opinion is certainly correct, because in the Paraśurāmeśvara and its allied type, the twin temples at Gandharāḍi and the Mukteśvara at Bhuvaneśvara, we find a modest *Śikhara* of the same type as the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogaḍh in the Jhansi district and the Durgā temple at Aihole[3] in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency. In Northern India the only other temple with a similar modest *Śikhara* is the temple of Śiva at Nachna Kuthara.[4] The difference between this early *Śikhara* in Kalingan temples and its later developements, as is to be seen in the temples of Liṅgarāja or Kṛittivāsa, Ananta Vāsudeva, Brahmeśvara, etc., at Bhuvaneśvara and that of Jagannātha at Puri, is that the older type of the *Śikhara* in the first group curves gradually but the later type takes a more pronounced curve near the top.

The temple of Paraśurāmeśvara shows a completely evolved type; the *Vimāna* is regularly cruciform or *Ratha*

[1] See the discussion in *"The Oldest Brahmanical Temples" Modern Review, 1929, pp.*

[2] Coomaraswamy—*History of Indian and Indonasian Art p. 115.*; Mano Mohan Ganguly—*Orissa and Her Remains, p. 273*; Fergusson—*A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture., 2nd. edition, 1910. Vol. I.*

[3] Cousens—*Chalukyan Architecture, Pls.*

[4] *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1919. pl.*



Front View of the Jagamohana—Rājā-Rāṇi Temple—showing Nāga-pillars

according to local technology as preserved by the late Mr. Ganguly, a rectangular *Jagamohana*, with arrangements for lighting its interior. The *Prāsāda Lakshaṇam* of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* of Varāha Mihira lays down that "The height of a temple should be three times the perpendicular height of the rectangular portion" and the late Mr. Ganguly has proved that in three temples at Bhuvaneśvara this rule had not been transgressed; Mukteśvara, Siddheśvara and Liṅgarāja.[1] Therefore in the case of the Paraśurāmeśvara this rule of Varāha Mihira had been transgressed. Unfortunately the late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly had very little experience of South-Western and Southern temples when he wrote his work on Orissa and its remains in 1912 and therefore he makes a number of mistakes which are pardonable in the amateur. He argues from the type of the *Śikharas* of the Durga temple and Huchchimalligudi at Aihole that "Orissan art of temple building was transplanted in the Deccan as early as the fifth century A. D. at the latest."[2] It did not occur to him that while almost all of the Aihole and Badami temples can be precisely dated not a single building in Orissa, with the exception of the Jagannātha temple at Puri and the Sun temple at Konarak, can be dated within one generation. Moreover, it can not be understood for what reason the Orissan art of temple building should be transplanted to the Deccan. Temple building was not unknown in the Deccan and that country can boast of much older temples than any other part of India. The late Mr. Ganguly noticed Gupta influence in Orissan sculpture and states that

[1] *Orissa and Her Remains, pp. 132-33.*

[2] *Ibid., p. 272.*

Orissa was conquered by Samudragupta! There is no evidence to prove that what Mr. Ganguly knew as Orissa was ever conquered by Samudragupta. Further on the late lamented scholar introduces the pet theory of Mr. Havell and his school in the following words:—It is reasonable to suppose that a considerable length of time must have elapsed since the art began to be first practised in Orissa, for I have already drawn the reader's attention to definite and stereotyped system of technique followed in Orissan architecture and sculpture. I may accordingly safely conclude that the Orissan style of temple building was much developed in the beginning of the Christian era and even before that."[1] Though a practical engineer the late Mr. Ganguly believed like most of Mr. Havell's disciples that temples with *Śikharas* could be as old as the beginning of the Christian era. Later on he states: "I have proved above that the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara is probably dated in the 5th or 6th century A. D. at the latest."[2] Unfortunately for Mr. Ganguly there is a class of evidence which no amount of artistic argument can shake. The Navagraha slab over the *antarāla* in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple is inscribed with the names of the planets and in these inscriptions a class of palatal *Śa* has been used which has not been found anywhere in Northern or Southern India before the 8th century A. D. This form of palatal *Śa* is used for the first time in Pāla inscriptions the 9th century A. D. In this form, the hook or arc, which forms the proper left limb of the letter, is not joined to the proper right limb, which is a straight

1 *Ibid., p. 272.*

2 *Ibid., p. 273*

line. It is, therefore, impossible to assign the building of the Paraśurāmeśvara to any date before the 8th century and that in the later decades of that century.

In the Paraśurāmeśvara and the later Mukteśvara, along with the twin temples of Gandharāḍi in the Baudh State one sees the earliest type of mediaeval temples of Orissa. The plan of the sanctum consists of a number of recessed corners on each of the four sides formed by intersecting rectangles of various dimensions. The ground-plan thus produced consists of a number of right angles on each of the four facades beginning with three. On each face of each of these facets ornaments, either a chaitya-window or a niche has been placed. Over the perpendicular portion of the walls there is a gradual inclination inwards, which is the beginning of the *Śikhara*. Generally the beginning of the *Śikhara* indicates the height of the sanctum in the interior. The spire or *Śikhara* in all early mediaeval temples is modest and they belong to one particular type all over India. The remains of the *Śikhara* in the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogaḍh shows the same outline as the Post-Gupta temples at Śaṁkargaḍh and Nachna Kuthara, the temples of Durgā and Huchhimalligudi at Aihole, the twin temples at Gandharāḍi and the early Bhuvaneśvara temples of Paraśurāmeśvara and Mukteśvara. Had it not been for the discovery of the inscribed labels under the Nine Planets in the *Antarāla* of the Paraśurāmeśvara, everyone, arguing from the stand-point of the evolution of the *Śikhara*, would have come to the conclusion that the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Mukteśvara belong to the same period as the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogaḍh.

Seventeen years ago the late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly

made certain statements about the evolution of Orissan temple Architecture which may yet be believed by the credulous even now. "It is reasonable to suppose that a considerable length of time must have elapsed since the art began to be first practised in Orissa, for I have already drawn the reader's attention to definite and stereotyped system of technique followed in Orissan architecture and sculpture. I may accordingly safely conclude that the Orissan style of temple building was much developed in the beginning of the Christian era and even before that."[1] The conclusion is totally wrong ; because, in the first place the Paraśurāmeśvara, the oldest temple in Orissa, can not be earlier than the 8th century A. D., according to the inscription on the Navagraha-slab, inspite of its resemblance to the Post-Gupta temples ; in the second place there is no temple in Northern, Central or Southern Orissa the date of which is earlier than that of the Paraśurāmeśvara, and in the third place, none of the earlier group of the Khandagiri and Udaygiri caves are temples or shrines proper. Most of them are monasteries like the Svargapurī and Mañchapurī or the great Rāṇi-Nūr Gumphās or are single cells for hermits like the Bāgh or Sarpa Gumphās. There is thus a gap of at least eight hundred years between the latest Jaina cave of the earlier group at Khandagiri or Udaygiri and the earliest temple known in Orissa. Consequently, there is not the slightest possibility of the beginning of the evolution of the Orissan temple type in the pre-Christian centuries.

The earliest group of mediaeval temples consists of three structures :

[1] *Ibid., p. 272.*



Side view of the Dual Temples at Gandharaḍi, Baudh. Mandapas of the Paraśurāmeśvara type oldest in Orissa

(1) The Paraśurāmeśvara at Bhuvaneśvara.

(2) The twin temples at Gandharādi in the Baudh State and

(3) The Mukteśvara at Bhuvaneśvara.

These three temples are arranged in chronological order, the Paraśurāmeśvara being the oldest, both according to the inscription on the Navagraha-slab and according to the style of ornamentation. The twin temples at Gandharāḍi come immediately after this, the style of ornamentation proving its slightly later date. The Mukteśvara comes last of all, though its style of ornamentation is the best. All of these three shrines consist of a high *Vimāna* surmounted by a short *Śikhara* and a low *Maṇḍapa* in front. The *Maṇḍapa* or *Jagamohana* of the Paraśurāmeśvara and the twin temples at Gandharāḍi are similar in style, size and arrangement, but that of the Mukteśvara is altogether different in style, being what local architects of Orissa call a *Pīḍa-Deula*.[1] The difference lies mainly in the construction of the roof. While the Paraśurāmeśvara and the twin temples at Gandharāḍi show the use of a roof of the type of a stone-hut with sloping edges, the roof of the *Jagamohana* of the Mukteśvara is a fairly high-stepped pyramid of the type of the later temples of Orissa, *e.g.*, the Liṅgarāja or Kṛittivāsa at Bhuvaneśvara, Jagannātha at Puri and Sūrya Deul at Konarak.

In the style of ornamentation and the elevation of the *Jagamohana* the Paraśurāmeśvara agrees with the twin temples at Gandharāḍi but not with the Mukteśvara. In the former "The plan of the Jagamohana is rectangular,

1 *Ibid., p. 112.*

the larger side being in the same line with the face of the *Vimāna* the *Rahapaga* of which is 1 ft. 4 ins. ahead of the main body. The *Bada* of the porch 7 ft. in height is a low rectangular parallelopiped having a door opening both on the south and west respectively. It is topped by a sloping roof formed by slabs or stones 6 ft. long having in the centre, a sort of clere-story, or skylight of six windows in front, *i.e.*, on the west, and twelve windows on the sides, *i.e.*, south and north."[1]

In order to support this clere-story there are two rows of three pillars each in the interior of the *Jagamohana* which gives it the appearance of the nave of a church. Though the appearance of the *Jagamohana* in the twin temples at Gandharāḍi is exactly similar, there is no clere-story in the latter and therefore there are no pillars in the interior and light is admitted through the front door. The roofs of the Gandharāḍi *Jagamohanas* are built on the cantilever principle. The sloping slabs of the edge of the roof support heavy flat slabs in the centre of the roof. In the case of the latter light is admitted into the interior of the *Vimānas* by large windows in the front facade of the *Śikhara* and consequently the Gandharāḍi temples are much better lighted than the sanctum or *Vimāna* of any other temple in Orissa. While there is a regularity in the elevation of the *Jagamohanas* of the Gandharāḍi temples there is no regularity in that of the Paraśurāmeśvara. In the former there is a door in front and at the back. On each side of each *Jagamohana* there is a window covered with a stone *Jālī* or lattice of blue chlorite. In the Paraśurāmeśvara there is a door in front, a window and

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 295-96.

a door on one side and a door only on the other side, while a fourth door leads into the interior of the *Vimāna*. In this group of early mediaeval temples of Orissa the *Jāli* or the lattice window is a constant feature. The *Jagamohana* of the Mukteśvara, though quite different in style, shows the use of such latticed windows, though inconspicuous amidst the jumble of ornamentation on the beams and the lintels.[1] Another peculiar characteristic of this earlier group of mediaeval temples of Orissa is the use of Nāga pillars, which though present in the twin temples at Gandharāḍi and the Mukteśvara, are absent in the Paraśurāmeśvara. In the twin temples at Gandharāḍi each door and window is flanked by a pair of round columns, around which is entwined the scaly body of a Nāga or a Nāgī. The Nāgapillars remain a constant but inconspicuous feature of the third group of Orissan temples and rise once more into prominence in the 12th century in the *Jagamohana* of the Rājārāṇī.

In respect of ornamentation there is a vast difference between the Paraśurāmeśvara on the one hand and the twin temples of Gandharāḍi and the Mukteśvara on the other. In the Paraśarāmeśvara we meet with chaitya-windows on the body of the *Vimāna* and the *Śikhāra*, which are very slightly stylized in form ; but on the facades of the *Jagamohana* there are quite a number of chaitya-window *motifs* carved in very low relief of the pure early Gupta style with large medallions, with a round or with a long angular projection towards the top, proving that the structure which bears them cannot be very far removed

1 *Ibid.*, *pl. VI (A)*; *IX*.

from the Imperial Gupta period. These Chaitya-windows fall into two different divisions :

I. With perfectly circular medallions and

II. With medallions round at the bottom but with a rectangular projection towards the top as on certain chaitya-windows on the lintel bearing the *Kshāntivādin Jātaka* discovered at Sarnath.[1]

The first class of medallions are exactly similar to the exquisite medallions of the Chaitya-windows discovered by the writer at Bhumra in the Nagod State,[2] and by Rai Bahadur Pandit Daya Ram Sahni at Deogaḍh in the Jhansi district. The second class can be subdivided into many varieties. In certain cases the upper projection is connected with the lower end but in certain other cases it is divided into two parts as at Sarnath by a sunken panel. It is only by the grossness of the figures in the medallion and the absurdly low relief of the chaitya-windows that we can be sure of the fact that this class of carving is much later than the Gupta period proper. This is the last use of the pure Gupta form of the chaitya-window in Orissa.

The twin temples at Gandharāḍi in the Baudh State have been recently described,[3] and are exactly similar to the Paraśurāmeśvara in plan and elevation. They are two temples, built on one platform, which are exactly similar to each other. The one on the left hand is dedicated to Śiva named Siddheśvara and its *Śikhara* is surmounted

1 *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath Pls.*

2 *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 16, The Temple of Siva at Bhumara.*

3 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XV.*



Temple of Paraśurāmeśvara
General View from South-Bhuvaneśvara—Puri District

by a *Śivaliṅga*. The second is dedicated to Vishnu, named Nilamādhava, and its *Śikhara* is surmounted by a wheel of blue chlorite. The principle of construction of the *Jagamohanas* at Gandharāḍi is slightly different from that of the Paraśurāmeśvara. Their roofs are built on the cantilever principle and originally it appears to have been supported on twelve large round pillars arranged as a hollow square. Thus each side had four pillars of which the central ones flanked an opening. Originally these two *Jagamohanas* appear to have been open on all sides; but later on the lintels on all sides appear to have given way and then it became necessary to fill in the gaps between pillars with the exception of the four openings with ashlar masonry. At the same time the side openings were filled up with a *Jālī* or lattice of blue chlorite towards the bottom and a frieze of four miniature temple *Śikharas* over it. This arrangement is not followed in later temples where the ingress of light into *Jagamohana* is through four or five stone pillars in the opening used as window-bars.

The style of ornamentation in the *Jagamohanas* of the Gandharāḍi temples is altogether different from that of the Paraśurameśvara. Even stylized chaitya-windows are rarely to be seen at Gandharāḍi except at the bases of the pilasters of the *Vimāna*. The ornamentation on these two *Jagamohanas* is very simple and much less over-crowded than that of the Mukteśvara.

The late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly noticed two *bassi relievi* on the Paraśurāmeśvara temple: The bas-relief on the northern niche of the *Vimāna* depicts a hunting scene. A man seated on a horse is spearing a lion; another piercing the body of an elephant, another again

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defending himself from the attack of a lion with a shield. The entrance to the porch on the south has a bas-relief with Ganeśa in the middle; on the left side is represented a Gandharva with an Apsarā on his leg and bearing with both hands a reticulated basket containing fruits; on the right is represented a man taking out a garland from a reticulated basket resembling that generally used for waste-paper; next to this, is a man carrying a jack-fruit on his shoulder, then a man with palm, and last comes an ascetic counting the beads of a rosary with his legs tied with a piece of cloth.

"The western doorway of the Jagamohana shows the characteristic figure of Gaja-Lakshmi; on the right side is represented the worship of Siva Linga; and on the left is depicted the scene of capture of a wild elephant by domestic ones. The wild elephant has one of his legs tied with a rope; a man on foot is cautiously attempting to tie the right hind leg of the wild elephant with the noosed end of a rope; and the animal is kept at bay with a long spear by the rider of an elephant in front."[1] The windows on the sides "are decorated with carvings of bands of musicians and groups of dancers in nice poses, some playing on *damaru*...some on *vīna*...and some on cymbals; the dancers are male; one of them is noticed to dance holding the ends of the scarf like an ordinary dancing girl of the present day. The frieze above the doors and windows stated above is nicely carved with artistic representations of elephants; it shows also the worship of the *Siva Lingam* by the naked anchorites with only a *kaupina* on."[2]

1 *Orissa and Her Remains, pp. 300-301.* 2 *Ibid., p. 301.*

The ornamentation of the *Vimānas* and the *Jagamohanas* of the Gandharāḍi temples consists entirely of pilasters shaped as miniature temples and we miss the larger chaitya-windows of the Paraśurāmeśvara. This total absence of a post-Gupta decorative *motif* certainly indicates a later date. The majority of writers on Indian architecture are inclined to place the Paraśurāmeśvara in the middle of the 8th century A. D. In that case the twin temples at Gandharāḍi should be dated close to that century, approximately fifty years later than the Paraśurāmeśvara. The importance of the Gandharāḍi temples lies in the fact that they provide a link and that a very important one, in the chain of the evolution of the mediaeval Orissan temple type. Up to this time there were no connections between the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Lingarāja groups from the point of view of decorative *motifs*. Now we know that the Paraśurāmeśvara, the Gandharāḍi temples and the *Vimāna* of the Mukteśvara represent one particular stage, probably the earlier, in the evolution of the Orissan temple type.

The temple of Mukteśvara lies very close to that of the Paraśurāmeśvara. It is the latest specimen of the first group of mediaeval temples in Orissa. The *Vimāna* is of the same style as that of the Paraśurāmeśvara and the twin temples at Gandharāḍi but the *Jagamohana* is much later in date and is distinctly a later addition. At present the Mukteśvara is surrounded with three compound walls :

(1) An inner enclosure containing the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* with a *Toraṇa* before the only entrance.

(2) A second enclosure separating the temple of

Siddheśvara and other smaller shrines, on a high platform to the west, from the temple of Mukteśvara and the tank behind it.

(3) A retaining wall provided by the British P. W. D. enclosing the entire group. The *Toraṇa* stands free of the inner enclosure wall just in front of the only opening in it. The uprights are built in sections, their lower parts, square in section, bearing on each face a niche or a miniature temple relief. The shafts are 16-sided and the abacus consists of a *Kirtimukha* holding three strings of beads on each side of the mouths, which are continued on to the next, on each facet as loops, with a single pendant between each of them (not beaded tassels as supposed by the late Mr. Ganguly).[1] Over this there is a *vedikā* supporting an *āmalaka*, over which is another *vedikā* supporting a cruciform capital with four arms, but without any human figures. These capitals support the real arch, which is circular like a Roman arc but built in transverse section on the principle of the true Indian overlapping arch. The ends of this arch are shaped as heads of *Makaras.* In front and at the back a circular projection along the bottom of the arch issues and ends in two small chaitya-windows in relief on the sides. A small female figure rests on each side of this projecting arch while the top is occupied by another chaitya-window with a pure circular medallion containing a human head.[2] These important land-marks in the evolution of the chaitya-window, marking regular stages in the evolution of the decorative art of the Orissan School, have been described by the late Mr. Ganguly in the following words : "The arch has three big ornamental

1 *Ibid., p. 277.*
2 *Ibid., Pl. VIII.*



The Vaitāl Deul—Front and Side Views of the Gopuram
Bhuvaneśvara—Puri District

scroll works at the two ends and centre showing heads of human figures. In the intervening spaces between the scroll work are seen two recumbent female figures in graceful pose and symmetrically placed."[1] I have not seen a more glaring instance of a mistaken and misleading description from the pen of a man very well qualified to speak on the subject. Though the late Mr. Ganguly spent a long time in studying the temple of Mukteśvara, he appears to have missed the best ornament on the arch of the *Toraṇa*, the bizarre arabesque on the top, which is one of the most wonderful productions which the Oṛiyā artist ever conceived.

The low compound wall is ornamented with a row of niches in relief bearing on their tops a row of miniature chaitya-windows, over which, separated by a projecting moulding, is a series of lotus petals, which certainly are the proto-type of the Afghan and Mughal *Kāngurā* battlements. The plan of the *Jagamohana*, which is the first structure one meets with immediately after entering the low enclosure, is entirely different from that of the Paraśurāmeśvara or the twin temples at Gandharāḍi. There are four projecting eaves, the eastern one of which has been turned into the *Āntarāla*, when the *Jagamohana* was built. Three side ones still exist. They are regular porches very short in breadth, consisting of two uprights, supporting a sloping roof over which are the roof-slabs, corrugated on the surface like the roof-slabs of the great Śaiva monasteries at Chandrehe in the Rewa State,[2] and

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 277-78.

2 *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1920, Pl.*

Ranod and Pawaya in the Gwalior State. Over this roof there is a projection rising perpendicularly, which is a mere stylized arrangement of a chaitya-window. The whole thing is surmounted by a grotesque lion. The openings on the side are filled in the style of the Gandharāḍi *Jagamohanas* with a *Jāli* or lattice below and a row of miniature *Śikharas* above. The *Jagamohana* of the Mukteśvara is the earliest specimen of the later *Jagamohanas* of mediæval temples of this country, which after the 12th century was adopted as the model of the *Śikharas* of *Vimānas*. It is a regular stepped pyramid. Out of the twelve steps in this pyramid, eight rise regularly from the bottom, while the remaining four are irregular, giving the appearance of a snub-nose.

The art of the decorator reached the highest standard of excellence between the dates of the construction of the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* of the Mukteśvara. Comparatively speaking, the decorative art of the *Jagamohana* is higher in standard of excellence than the *Vimāna*. At the same time the decorator of the *Jagamohana* of the Mukteśvara had reached a much higher level in his own art than that of the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* of the Lingaraja or Kṛittivāsa. Here perhaps for the first time we find human figures, used as decorative *motifs* placed in alto-relievo against the walls of the *Jagamohana* ; up to the date of the Paraśurāmeśvara, they were either placed in sunken panels or in medallions of niches or chaitya-windows. In this period there is practically no unnaturalism, want of equipoise or provincial mannerisms. Therefore, the majority of writers on the subject have praised the art of the Mukteśvara very highly. Fergusson

calls it "The gem of Orissan Architecture,"[1] others call it the best period of Orissan Art,[2] even the late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly was moved by it: "The temple of Muktesvara may be styled the epitome of Orissan Architecture showing all that is best in it. It may be appropriately called a dream in sand-stone, adapting the immortal phraseology of Colonel Sleeman regarding Taj Mohal."[3]

The *Vimāna* of the Paraśurāmeśvara, the entire structures of the twin temples at Gandharāḍi and Mukteśvara agree in one detail: the exteriors are decorated with a number of niches or miniature temples of different sizes very often ornamented by rows of super-imposed chaitya-windows in fret-work.[4] The windows of the *Jagamohana* of the Mukteśvara are enclosed in an arrangement of heavily carved frames. The *Jāli* or lattice itself bears three narrow but graceful bands all round, carved out of the same piece of stone. This is kept in place by two uprights, a sill and a lintel consisting of four or five separate pieces, over which there is an architrave intended to fill up the space above the lattice up to the height of the pilasters on each side.[5] On the lintels and the jambs enclosing the lattice there is an ornamental scroll forming a number of round panels which contain a number of humorous scenes, as on the celebrated monkey medallions on the railings of Bharhut *stūpa*. Some of them have been described by the late Mr. Ganguly.

1 *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, 2nd Edition, 1910 Vol. I.*

2 *William Cohn—Indische Plastic, p. 70.*

3 *Orissa and Her Remains, p. 275.*

4 *Ibid., Pl. 7.* 5 *Ibid., Pl. 9.*

"A crab holds a monkey and drags it down ; another monkey hanging down from a neighbouring tree sees this sorrowful plight, and catching hold of its brother makes strenuous efforts to save it from its assailant ; another big monkey is entwining one of its arms round the second monkey to prevent it from falling down. In another scene, two monkeys have been depicted as annoying a crocodile. In the next scene a monkey is represented as sitting on a crocodile, and two other monkeys are climbing up two trees on the two sides. The above three scenes are repeated on the right side of the window with variations. In the topmost portion of the frame containing the above scenes are depicted the monkeys at home ; this has been obliterated to some extent. The last piece at the right corner shows an erect monkey passing its fingers through the hairs of another in search of insects. On the top of this there is a bas-relief with one Makara head at each end and eight groups of flying Gandharvas, each Gandharva carrying a garland in both hands and supporting a nymph, or Apsarā on the left leg which is outstretched with bent knee."[1]

The Mukteśvara also shows the use of decorative bas-reliefs of human or divine incidents for the first time in mediæval temples of Orissa. I reproduce the crabbed description of the late Mr. Ganguly :

"The temple or the *Vimana* contains the figures of ascetics in meditation, or preaching to the disciples in the topmost recesses of the *Bada*. Starting from the southern to the northern face one comes across the figures of an emaciated ascetic and his disciple bathing a *Lingam*

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 284.



General View of the Main Temple—Sūrya Deul
Konārak—Puri District

with water passing through a piece of cloth, the figure of an emaciated ascetic in trance with a plaited turban on is very significant ; women have been represented as kneeling before him and the musicians as playing on tomtoms. The third figure represents a disciple offering a seat to an ascetic *guru*. The fourth is the repetition of the first, the fifth one is a devotee pouring water on a *Liṅgam* from a pot ; another devotee is bringing two pots of water ; the sixth one is an unimportant figure ; the seventh one, that of a sage in the act of writing while two of his disciples are standing with folded hands ; the eighth one is that of a man bathing a *Siva Liṅgam* with water from a rinsed cloth. The ninth one represents the worship of Siva ; one of the figures here is mutilated. The tenth scene represents a *guru* reading from a book supported on a trestle, and turbaned disciples are listening ; the eleventh one is a *guru* discoursing to turbaned disciples, while another disciple is reading apart.[1]

We must now turn to a class of temples which intervene between the first group of mediaeval temples (Paraśurāmeśvara-Gandharāḍi-Mukteśvara) of Orissa and the third (Liṅgarāja-Ananta-Vāsudeva), hitherto regarded as the second. This group is better known from the group of three-shrined Tantric temples at Baudh[2] in the Tributary States of Orissa and from the Kutai-Tundi or Nilakaṇṭheśvara and Chandraśekhara at Khiching[3] in the Mayurabhañj State, as well as certain temples at

1 *Ibid., p. 285.*

2 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XV, Pl. IV-V.*

3 *Chanda—Bhanja Dynasty of Mayurbhanj and Their Ancient Capital Khiching, Pl. IV(a), VI.*

Bhuvaneśvara. The principal characteristics of this second group are the want of a *maṇḍapa* or a *Jagamohana* and the sudden curvature of the *Śikhara* inwards near the top. This second characteristic is not present in the two existing temples at Khiching on account of the influence exerted on Kolhan temples by the art and architecture of South-western Bengal. We are not in a position to determine what was the shape of the great temple at Khiching, on the ruins of which the Khandiya Deul was built, but from the style of sculptures and decorative *motifs* recovered from the interior of the Khandiya Deul it is certain that this great temple belonged to the age of the Mukteśvara. The best examples of human figures are the Nāga,[1] the image of Śiva,[2] Nāgis[3] and as regards decorative art, the pilaster,[4] the plinth[5] mouldings, and the exquisite Nāga[6] pillar. Leaving out of consideration the two temples at Khiching which show extraneous influence, we have to fall back upon the three temples at Baudh and a number of minor temples at Bhuvaneśvara which never had any *Jagamohana* and in some of which the *Jagamohana* is a later addition. In the three temples at Baudh the place of the *Jagamohana* is taken by a very small *Antarāla* or porch supported by two pillars in front and two pilasters. It may be argued that as the older temple of Paruśurāmeśvara and Mukteśvara and the Gandharāḍi temples as well as the later group of Liṅgarāja-Ananta Vāsudeva possess

1 *Ibid., Pl. XIV(a).*

2 *Ibid., Pl. XIX.*

3 *Ibid., Pls. XXII-XXIII.*

4 *Ibid., Pl. XVI.*

5 *Ibid., Pl. XVII.*

6 *Not published yet.*

Jagamohanas, what objection there may be to place the temples of the Baudh type at a much later date. The answer is quite simple. Chanda has proved that there is a chronological sequence in the art of the Kṛittivāsa or the Liṅgarāja and the ruined temple at Khiching on the plinth of which the Khandiya Deul has been built.[1] This art sequence can be used to indicate and establish a similar sequence in the case of the evolution of the mediaeval temple type in Orissa. There is also a second line of evidence about this. At Bhuvaneśvara, in and around the temple of Liṅgarāja, there are some shrines which never possessed a *Jagamohana*. Many of these are certainly older than the great temple of Liṅgarāja. The temple of Bhāskareśvara lies due west of the Megheśvara. The present temple is a late structure, being later than the 12th century but the original temple was old, as the shrine is mentioned in the Brahma-*Purāṇa*. It possesses no *Jagamohana*.

There are a number of temples, the names of which vary according the whims of the local priests, in front of the main gate of the Liṅgarāja, behind the Liṅgarāja along the road from that temple to the railway crossing and from Bhuvaneśvara Railway station to the Vaitāl Deul. None of these ever possessed a *Jagamohana*. In some of these there is a projecting eave or *Antarāla* over the door of the temple. The Bhuvaṇeśvara temples without *Jagamohana* are mostly in a dilapidated condition and, in comparison with them, two of the three temples at Baudh are in a fair state of preservation. The decorative *motifs* and the plastic art of the three temples at Baudh are certainly

1 *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1923-24.*

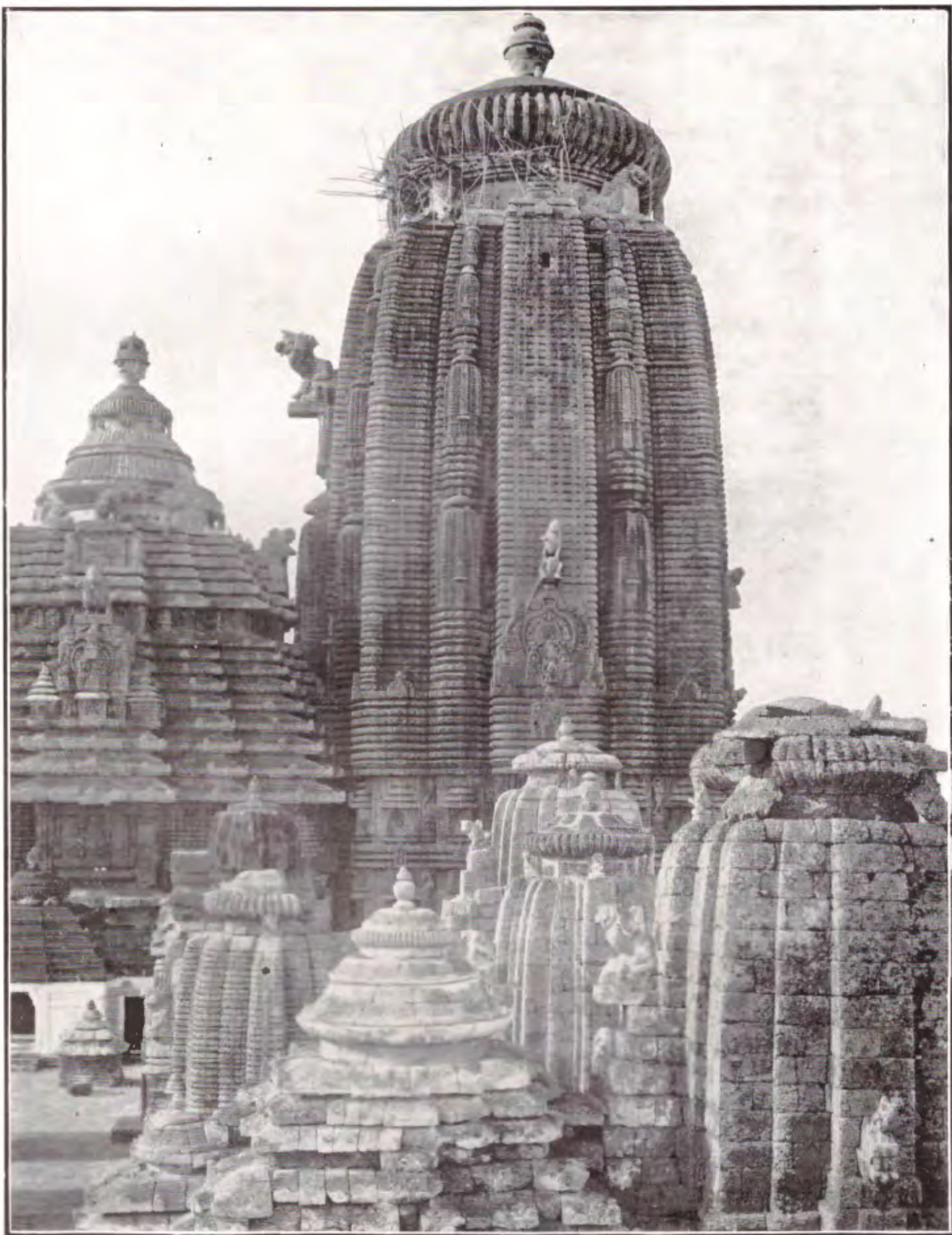
superior to and older than the great Liṅgarāja-Ananta-Vāsudeva group. If the Liṅgarāja is to be placed any where in the 10th century A. D., then the Baudh temples must be placed in the middle of the 9th century. Computing at this rate, the temple of Chandraśekhara should be dated about 900 A. D., and such temples of Bhuvaneśvara as possess a *Śikhara* of the type of the Liṅgarāja or Ananta-Vāsudeva should be placed after the middle of 9th and before that of the 10th century A. D.

One particular feature of the Baudh temples is worth particular attention. Their plan is quite different from that of any other temples discovered up to date in Orissa. In plan these three temples are eight-rayed stars and the *Argha-paṭṭas* of the *Liṅgas* are also similar.

Returning to the Bhuvaneśvara group, we find that in the third group the temples of Liṅgarāja, Ananta-Vāsudeva and Brahmeśvara stand prominent. The temple of Liṅgarāja is ascribed to a mythical king named Yayāti-Keśari, who is probably the same as Mahāśivagupta Yayāti, the son and successor of Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya.[1] The late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly has taken great pains to prove that Mahāśivagupta reigned in the 9th century A. D., but the recent discovery of the inscriptions of the two groups of Kara kings[2] and the certain evidence of Chinese history about the identity and date of Śubhakara makes it impossible to think of the Somavaṁśī dynasty as reigning in Northern or Central Orissa at that date. Moreover, if the Paraśurāmeśvara was built about the middle of the eighth century, since

1 See *Ante*. Vol. I. p. 212.

2 See *Ante*. Vol. I. p. 153.



Vimāna of the Liṅgarāja—View from the North
Bhuvaneśvara—Puri District

the inscription of the Navagraha-slab will not permit it to be taken to any earlier period, the Liṅgarāja must be placed at least two centuries later.

It must be remembered that in talking of the Liṅgarāja or the Kṛittivāsa, the Ananta-Vāsudeva or the Brahmeśvara, which at present consist of a *Vimāna*, *Jagamohana*, *Nāṭamandira*, and *Bhogamaṇḍapa*, *i.e.*, one sanctum and the three *maṇḍapas*, we are concerned, before the end of the 12th century, with the original structure consisting of a *Vimāna* and a *Jagamohana*. The temples which we have selected to represent the types of the third period in the evolution of mediaeval temples in Orissa, Liṅgarāja or Kṛittivāsa and the Ananta-Vāsudeva, show the *Vimāna* with a *Śikhara* which curves suddenly towards the end near the *Āmalaka* and the *Jagamohana* is a rectangular chamber with a stepped pyramid as its roof. There is ample evidence on the eastern face of the *Jagamohana* to show that the *Nāṭmandir* of the Liṅgarāja is a later addition.

Like the Sūrya Deul at Konarak, so much has been written on the Liṅgarāja, commonly known as the Great Temple of Bhuvaneśvara, that it is difficult to determine how much of it should be left unsaid at the beginning of the 20th century. There cannot be any doubt about the fact that amateur writers like the late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly were wrong in assigning it to the 9th century and that Coomarswamy and Chanda are substantially correct in placing it in the 10th[1]; The third type of mediaeval Orissan temples is a fixed type which under-

[1] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1923-24 History of Art in India and Indonesia, p. 115.*

went very few changes in subsequent centuries. The change was mainly in the contour of the *Śikhara* and the addition of two other *Maṇḍapas*. The *Vimāna* was planned like the two earlier types by intersecting rectangles which produced a number of facets on all four faces. The *Jagamohana* is also oblong, longer but less broad than the *Vimāna*,[1] except in certain cases, where it is a square.[2]

All *Jagamohanas* of the third type, either at Bhuvaneśvara or Puri or Konarak, are lofty halls, the heavy weight of the roof of which required additional supports in the shape of four free standing pillars in the centre. The pyramidal roof begins at a lower level than the top of these pillars and goes on ascending till it reaches the level of the capitals of these pillars, which are square in section. Four lintels placed on these pillars support one or two steps of the pyramid, which goes on ascending till it reaches the final. Towards the top the roof of the *Jagamohana* is a regular trabeate dome like the roofs of *Maṇḍapas* in North-Central and North-Western *Nāgara* temples. On the upper side the roof of the *Jagamohana* is a regular stepped pyramid ending in an *Āmalaka* and *Chūḍamāṇi*.

The late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly has taken very great pains to collect all known architectural terms still used by stone-cutters in Orissa. The terms used to denote the elevation of a *Vimāna* show that, though some of them are Sanskritic, the majority are modern vernacular and therefore cannot be older than the 13th century A. D.[3]

[1] Fergusson—*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, London, 1910, p. 99, fig. 314.*

[2] *Ibid., p. 103, fig. 317; 108, fig. 319.*

[3] *Orissa and Her Remains, Pl. II.*

The names indicating component parts of plans[1] and the elevation of *Jagamohanas*[2] have also been collected, but they are of very little utility to modern students of Indian Architecture. Of greater interest are the names of the details of the plinth mouldings.[3]

The *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* of the temple of Liṅgarāja or Kṛittivāsa are the most stupendous structures at present existing in Orissa. Their construction is a subject of very great interest to the students of Indian Architecture. Up to 1924 the priests of these two temples kept the interiors of both structures covered with dirty wooden ceilings. Fortunately, the Liṅgarāja temple required repairs very urgently and the author was deputed by the Archaeological Survey, of India to advise the Public Works Department of the Government of Bihar and Orissa in these repairs. At my request the wooden ceilings were removed and the principle of construction stood revealed. There was nothing of importance, which was not known, in the construction of the *Jagamohana*; but that of the *Vimāna* was a revelation to many. The *Vimāna* of the Kṛittivāsa possesses a single opening on the east. During the repairs it was discovered that the stone door-frame from which the wooden gates are hung, conceals behind it two different stone door-frames, the sizes of which do not correspond. The stone lintel of the front door-frame is much lower than that of the rear one, proving thereby that the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* were not built at the same time. When both of them were finished sufficient

1 *Ibid., p. 112.*

2 *Ibid., Pl. III.*

3 *Ibid., Pl. IV (A).*

care was taken to finish the exterior in such a fashion as not to leave any indication of the joining of the structure from the outside, a precaution neglected on two subsequent occasions, when the *Nāṭamandira* and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* were built. After the removal of the wooden ceiling from the interior of the *Vimāna* it was found to be a tall chamber with a flat roof, composed of heavy slabs laid lengthwise. Over this there was another chamber, access to which was obtained by a steep staircase built through the thickness of the sides of the *Śikhara.* Mr. Sanat Kumar Rai Chaudhuri, then Executive Engineer, Cuttack Division, ascended this staircase and found the upper chamber lighted by a window. A number of men, whose duty it is to ascend the *Śikhara* on certain occasions, in order to place lamps on the top of the *Āmalaka*, state that they can see another window of another chamber over this one, but it is not known at the present day whether there is any method of ingress into it. It is, therefore, certain that the *Śikhara* of the Liṅgarāja is a hollow pyramid and its interior consists of a number of superimposed chambers, gradually decreasing in size like those of the great temples at Bodh-Gaya and Konch, near Tikari, in the Gaya district of Bihar. The weight of the *Śikhara* was further reduced by the construction of great trabeate arches in the sides, just over the top of the wall of the *Vimāna.* The masonry is strongly bounded and there is no core of rubble, as in the case of many early Musalman buildings of India. The stones of the *Śikhara* were kept in place by the heavy weight of the *Āmalaka*, which projects a good deal beyond its base. To keep the projection uninjured and in place, a number of stone brackets, shaped as lions, surround the *Āmalaka*



Vimāna of the Rājā-Rāṇī Temple
Bhuvaneśvara—Puri District

from its base. According to the calculations of the late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly, the height of the *Vimāna* of the Liṅgarāja is 127 feet.[1]

The *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja is an exceedingly interesting structure. Originally there were two windows, one to the north and another to the south of this structure, covered with huge stone bars, and the entrance lay in front. On this side two heavy pylons were constructed to bear the additional thrust. They were mutilated when Anaṅga Bhīma I added the *Nāṭamandira* in the 12th century. The facade of the *Jagamohana* was exceedingly well designed and was a beautiful and imposing sight before the addition of the *Nāṭamandira.* During the repairs to Liṅgarāja temple I ascended the roof of the *Nāṭamandira* and found a large projecting cave over the point where the eastern wall of the *Jagamohana* joins the rear or western wall of the *Jagamohana.* The beautiful chaitya-window over the roof of the *Nāṭamandira* had been ruthlessly mutilated and no attempt made to conceal the later addition. The *Jagamohana* is provided with a heavy projecting cornice like the later Chālukyan temples of the Canarese districts (Belgaum, Dharwar and North Kanara districts of Bombay, the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency and the northernmost districts of the Mysore State). According to the calculations of the late Mr. Mono Mohan Ganguly the *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja is 89 ft. 2 ins. high. There are two openings on the sides, one of which is now a doorway and the other a window, closed with large pillars used as bars. Over each of the side openings there is a long

[1] *Ibid., pp. 349-51.*

bas relief. The doorway is on the south side and, instead of a *Navagraha* slab, we find that this bas relief and the ornamentation over this portion are exactly the same on the north. These two factors prove that originally the southern opening of the *Jagamohana* was also a window. There are tall openings on the east and the west of the *Jagamohana*, leading to the *Nāṭamandira* and the *Vimāna* respectively. The window on the north is 7 ft. 5 ins. broad and the space is covered by five pillars, on each of which there were female figures as ornaments, now very much damaged. The *Nāṭamandira* of the Liṅgarāja, as has been stated above, is a later structure like the *Jagamohana*, according to the late Mr. Ganguly. There is an inscription on the right jamb, according to which the *Nāṭamandira* was built by Narasiṁha I and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* by Anaṅgabhīma, who is supposed to have ruled in the middle of the 13th century and therefore must be Anaṅgabhīma II.[1] These inscriptions have not been properly edited as yet, though impressions of the whole lot were taken several times,—for the late Dr. Th. Bloch in 1906, for Dr. D. B. Spooner and for the last time by Dr. A. Banerji-Śāstrī in 1925-26.

There are numerous large and small temples inside the enclosure of the Liṅgarāja, of which the most important is the very small but infinitely beautiful shrine of Pārvatī. In proportion, grace, beauty of outline and chastity of decorative *motifs*, this shrine is far superior to the great temple itself. It also consists of four different parts: *Vimāna*, *Jagamohana*, *Nāṭamandira* and *Bhogamaṇḍapa*. The *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* appear to be contem-

1 *Ibid.*, 368

porary and the earliest of the four. Just as in the *Jagamohana* of the Liṅgarāja, there is a door leading outside from the south side of this *Jagamohana* and a window on the north. The late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly was of opinion that "The date of its construction is unknown; but it is pretty certain that it must have been erected within two hundred years after the temple of Liṅgarāja came into existence."[1] There is no epigraphical evidence to prove the actual date of construction, but if the contour of the *Śikhara* and the execution of the decorative *motifs* are any sure criteria, then the temple of Pārvati is much older than the *Nāṭamaṇḍira* of the Liṅgarāja and is very probably of the same date as the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* of that great temple. Unlike that of the great temple, the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* of the temple of Pārvati is a plain structure without any ornamentation, more like a small porch. The only other factor worth noticing in the smaller temples in the compound of the Liṅgarāja is a small temple to the north of the *Nāṭamandira* which contains an image of the Sun-God with four instead of seven horses. Mr. Mono Mohan Ganguly made a curious mistake with regard to this figure. He stated that "The only instance of the Sun God driving a four-horsed chariot is noticed in a bas relief of a pillar at Buddha-Gaya regarding which General Cunningham writes as follows...."[2]

There is a similar figure of the Sun God within four miles of the Liṅgāraja temple, on one of the tympana of the four arches in the rear wall of the Ananta Gumphā on

[1] *Ibid., p. 367.*

[2] *Ibid., p. 365*

the Khandagiri[1] hill which Mr. Ganguly must have noticed. Since then several images of this god with four instead of seven horses have been discovered in Mathurā. After the temples in the compound of Liṅgarāja we must turn to larger allied temples of this class. The best examples of these are the Ananta Vāsudeva on the eastern bank of the Bindu Sarovara and the Brahmeśvara at a distance. The dates of both of these temples are tolerably certain from the evidence of inscriptions. The temple of of Ananta Vāsudeva, as is indicated by its name, is, a Vaishṇava shrine dedicated to the divine brothers Kṛishṇa and Balarāma. Like the Liṅgarāja, this temple also consists of four different parts : *Vimāna*, *Jagamohana*, *Nāṭamandira* and *Bhogamaṇḍapa*. This temple is very peculiar, as it faces W. N. W.[2] The *Vimāna* stands on a cruciform platform and is much smaller in size than the *Jagamohana*. There is a smaller temple behind it. Perhaps there were two such on the sides only acting as propylea as in the case of the *Vimānas* of the Liṅgarāja, Jagannātha and Konarak temples. The *Jagamohana* possesses two windows on the sides and two entrances to the *Vimāna* and the *Nāṭamandira*. The latter is entirely open on the south, while the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* is comparatively better enclosed. The entire group is enclosed in a compound wall. Being a Vaishṇava temple, the principal niches on the four sides contain Vaishṇava images. That on the northern side contained an image of Vishṇu as Trivikrama instead of Vāmana. The southern niche contains the figure of

1 *See Pl.*

2 *Orissa and Her Remains, Pl.*



General View of the Ananta-Vasudeva
Bhuvaneśvra—Puri District

Varāha, while Mr. Ganguly surmised that the eastern niche contained a figure of Nṛisiṁha.[1] The same authority notes that the *Nāṭamandira* of this temple also is a later addition, a fact which places it in the Liṅgarāja group of temple. Inside the *Nāṭamandira* there is a small pillar surmounted by a figure of Garuḍa.[2] On each side of the western opening of the compound wall there is a large slab bearing inscriptions. One of these two records is an eulogium composed by a Brāhmaṇa named Vāchaspati upon his friend Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, surnamed *Bāla-Valabhi-Bhujaṅga*, who was the minister of king Harivarman of lower or southern Bengal. This inscription records that Bhavadeva had constructed the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva and excavated the tank in front of it. Years ago the late Dr. Kielhorn stated that this inscription belongs to the 12th century A. D., but from the fact that the characters of the inscription are not earlier than the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena and that the Varman dynasty was overthrown by the same king, it is impossible to place Harivarman later than the 11th century. Therefore a temple of Ananta Vāsudeva himself cannot be far distant in date from that of the Liṅgarāja. The outline of the *Śikhara* is not so graceful as that of the Liṅgarāja, though both of them are similar in plan. The contour of the *Śikhara* loses much in grace on account of the comparative smallness of the base in proportion to the diameter of the *Āmalaka*. It is probably later in date than the Liṅgarāja but slightly earlier than the

1 *Ibid., p. 372.*

2 *Ibid., p. 375.*

Rāja Rāṇi, as judged from the much more stylized form of the chaitya-windows. That on the southern facade possesses a double medallion inside a quarte-foil. Compared with the surface of the Liṅgarāja the ornamentation is still sparse and the human figures are not crude and barbarous like those of the Sun temple at Konarak.

The temple of Brahmeśvara lies east of the temples of Rāja Rāṇi and Mukteśvara, in the fields, where very few people visit them. According to an inscription edited in the earlier part of the 19th century, Kolāvatī, the mother of Udyotakeśarī, seventh in descent from Janamejaya, built this temple. It is quite possible that this Udyotakeśarī was a lineal descendant of Mahābhavagupta I Janamejaya.[1] From the style of the *Śikhara* and the roof both the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* of this temple belong to the Liṅgarāja-Ananta Vāsudeva group. According to the calculations of Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly the height of the *Vimāna* is 60 ft.[2] The *Jagamohana* is a building of the Ananta Vāsudeva type, having a window on each side covered by five pillars. Its exterior is covered with human figures which are certainly later than those of the Liṅgarāja or the Ananta Vāsudeva. The bas reliefs described by Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly are also flat and lifeless.[3] The temple of Brahmeśvara possesses four smaller temples at four corners and is surrounded by a stone compound wall.[4] The temple of Megheśvara stands very close to that of

1 See *Ante*. Vol I.

2 *Orissa and Her Remains, p. 336.*

3 *Ibid., pp., 338-40.*

4 *Ibid., Pl. XVB.*

the Brahmeśvara and is known from the second inscription to the compound wall of the Ananta Vāsudeva.[1] The temple consists of a *Vimāna* and a *Jagamohana*, of which the former is 50 ft. high. The *Jagamohana* is not square but rectangular, measuring 36 ft. 3 ins. by 24 ft. 10 ins. Nāga pillars are to be found on each side of the entrance to the *Jagamohana* which has a window barred by stone pillars on each side. The Megheśvara is an important structure in the history of the evolution of temple architecture in Orissa, as the late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly has succeeded in proving that originally it had no *Jagamohana*. Clear traces are still visible of the addition of the *Jagamohana* to the *Vimāna*[2]. The inscription of the Megheśvara records the erection of the temple by Svapneśvara, the commander-in-chief and brother-in-law of Rājarāja II, one of the sons and successors of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga[3]. The temple of Megheśvara proves that long after the adoption of the Liṅgarāja-Ananta Vāsudeva-Brahmeśvara type as the constant temple type in Orissa, temples of the Baudh type, *i. e.*, without *Jagamohanas*, were still being constructed in Orissa.

Before proceeding to the next group of temple types in Orissa, we must turn our attention to two exotic types in Bhuvaneśvara : the Vaital Deul and the Rājā-Rāṇi. The former is an example of the *Gopuram* or *Drāviḍa* style and the latter, of the pure Nāgara or the Indo-Aryan style. There is no necessity to discuss the identity of the

1 *Epi. Ind. Vol. VI.*

2 *Orissa and Her Remains, pp. 328-9.*

3 *Epi. Ind. Vol. VI.* ; See also *Ante*, Vol I.

Vaital Deul with the Drāviḍa style, as the similarity of the spire to the oldest temples of Kāñchi or Conjeeveram,[1] and the comparatively modern temples at Śrīraṅgam, Madurā and Rāmeśvaram will prove immediately. The Vaital Deul of Bhuvaneśvara is a peculiar structure, because to the *Vimāna* of the Dravidian style is added a *Jagamohana* of the Paraśurāmeśvara and Gandharāḍi style. From the style of the plan and elevation of the *Jagamohana* and style of ornamentations, specially the chaitya-win dows, it is pretty certain that this structure is much older than the Mukteśvara and perhaps of the same date as the Paraśurāmeśvara and the twin temples at Gandharāḍi. The late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly saw some Buddhist influence in this temple, because he did not know what part semi-circular and three-quarter medallions played in Indian temple architecture as decorative *motifs* till the end of the 6th century A. D. There is no Buddhist influence in any part of the architecture or decorative art of the Vaital Deul.[2]

Like the Vaital Deul the Rājā-Rāṇi is a temple in another style—the *Nāgara.* The Vaital stands in the centre of the village of Bhuvaneśvara to the S. S. E. of the Liṅgarāja, while the Rājā-Rāṇi lies E. N. E. of the main gate of that temple compound. The difference in the style lies in the contour of the *Śikhara,* which is different from that of the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Liṅgarāja. Once more the contour of the *Śikhara* is a gradually inclined curve, but this outline is broken by sharp projections, in the shape of numerous miniature

1 *Rea-Pallava Architecture Pl.*

2 *Orissa and Her Remains, pp. 388-89.*



General view of Brahmeśvara, Bhubaneśvara

Śikhara, which are added to the main *Śikhara* in regular rows for its ornamentation in relief. This temple is empty and has been thoroughly repaired by the Government. It consists of a *Vimāna* and a *Jagamohana*. While the exterior of the *Vimāna* is covered with beautiful human figures and other decorative *motifs*, that of the *Jagamohana* is severely plain, a fact which led the late Mr. Ganguly to observe that the latter is a subsequent addition[1]. The *Jagamohana* possesses a stone window on each side. These and the front door are flanked by massive Nāga pillars of the type of those at Gandharāḍi. The Rāja Rāṇi is famous for the beauty of its decorative art, a subject dealt with in the next chapter. The late Mr. Ganguly was of opinion that the Rāja Rāṇi was a Vaishṇava shrine, because there is a lotus carved on the floor, a factor common in all Hindu and Jaina temples of the Southern Maratha country.[2]

The age of temple-building was practically over in the beginning of the 11th century. After the Liṅgarāja-Ananta Vāsudeva-Brahmeśvara group there is a gap of nearly a century. The next group begins with the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri. The late Mr. Monmohan Chakravarti proved definitely that this temple was built before the close of the 11th and not the 12th as Fergusson and other earlier writers supposed. Further, almost all land grants of the descendants of Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga inform us that that king began the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri.[3] The 27th verse of the Kenduapatna

[1] *Ibid., pp. 314-315.*

[2] *Ibid., p. 313.*

[3] *Journal of the Asiati Society of Bengal, Vol. LXVII, 1898, Part I.*

plates of Narasiṁha II mentions the building of the temple of Jagannātha (*Prāsāda Purushottamasya*) explicitly.[1] In the case of this temple Orissan tradition rightly ascribes the beginning of the erection of the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* to Choḍagaṅga. It is said that Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga built the *Vimāna*, but the *Jagamohana* was left unfinished and was completed by Anaṅgabhima I. The temple, as it stands, has been very well described by earlier writers like Fergusson and modern writers like the late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly, and need not be repeated here. In this temple both the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* are square in plan. The *Jagamohana* being a more perfect square, both inside and outside, than the *Vimāna*, but it lacks the dignity of that of the Liṅgarāja. Fergusson's comments on the style of this temple is rightly adverse, but he committed the mistake of all pioneer writers in comparing the architects and artists of the late 11th century with those of the early 10th. He quotes Stirling to support himself, but as both of them knew the history of the country very imperfectly, they could not but create confusion. The late Monmohan Chakravarti has proved from inscriptions of kings who ruled outside Orissa that the temple of Jagannātha became famous late in the 10th and early in the 11th century. In the middle of the 7th century, when Yuan Chwang came to Orissa the great temple did not exist and the god Jagannātha had not acquired such wide fame.

Puri, Nilāchala or Purushottama Kshetra, as the place and temple are now called, is a *modern* Hindu *Tirtha*.

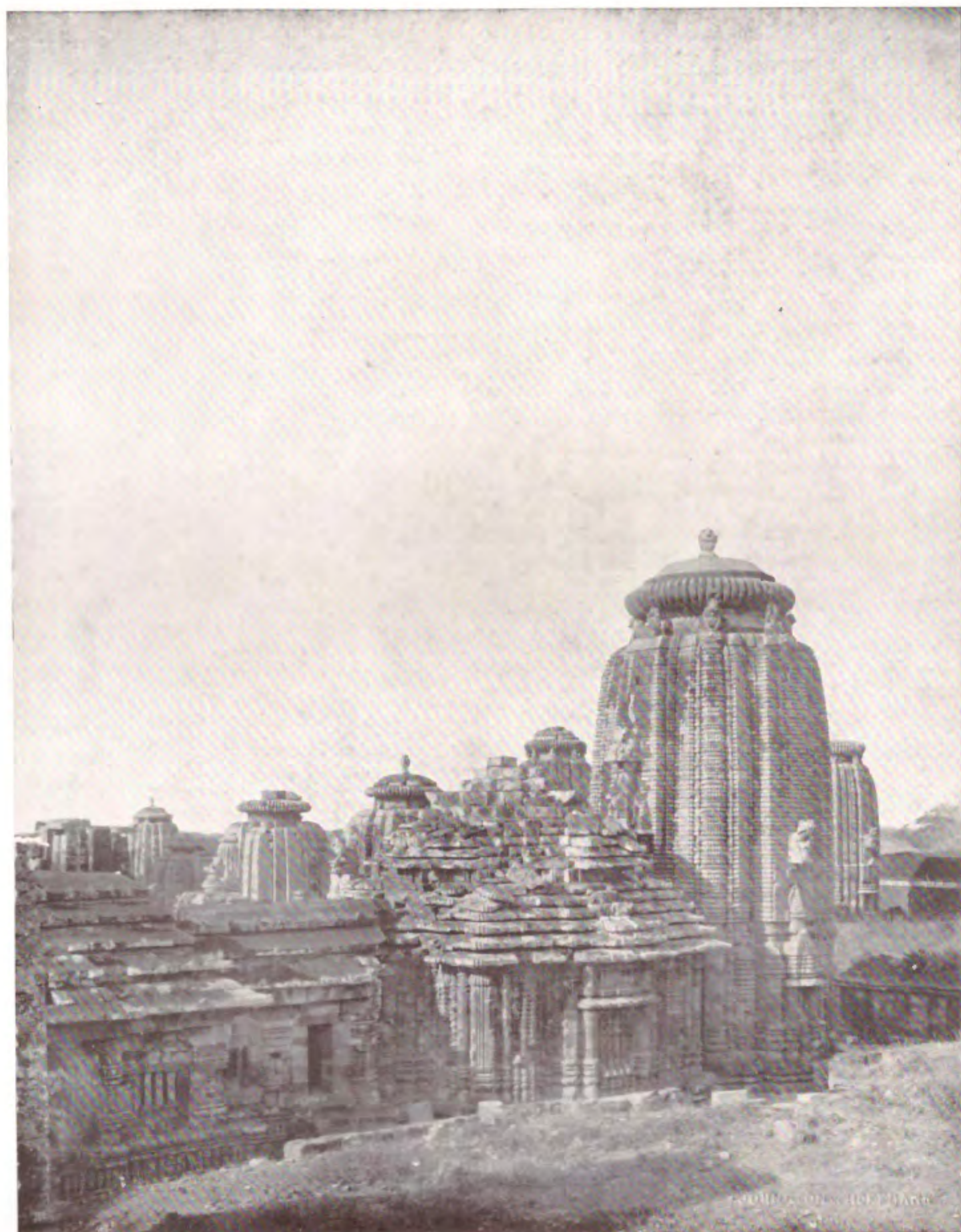
1 *Ibid., Vol. LXV, 1896, Part I, pp. 240, 261.*

is not connected either with the legend of Rāma, Kṛishṇa or Śiva and its great sanctity is entirely due to very active propaganda. Originally the shrine may have been either Buddhist, or Jaina or Animistic. There is a certain non-Aryan element even now which admits of Śudra servitors, named *Daitas*, into the sacredmost enclosure. Jaina images were discovered by the writer on the right jamb of the *Jagamohana* in 1910 and 1911. But for the form of the gods there is not the slightest trace of Buddhism anywhere inside this great temple. Just at present Puri is equal in sanctity to Dwāraka, Mathurā, Brindāban, and Kāñchi as well as Benares and Rāmeśvara. This sanctity of Puri is due entirely to very active propaganda, which seems to have begun with the conquest of Northern Orissa by the Eastern Gaṅgas. Originally the shrine was a local holy-place, just as the great Kiñchakeśvari-Chāmuṇḍā of Khiching is to the people of the country for fifty miles around it. It is also possible that it was originally a shrine of Orissan aboriginals, whose worship was taken up by the Eastern Gaṅgas. According to orthodox Hindu canons the form of Jagannātha is allied to the Dwarf (*Vāmana*) incarnation of Vishṇu, but the black colour of Jagannātha and his association with Kṛishṇa's sister Subhadrā and his brother Balarāma, connects Jagannātha with the cult of Kṛishṇa (*Purṇa-āvatāra*), and according to strict Hindu orthodoxy the intermixture of the cult of Vāmana with that of Kṛishṇa is not permissible. All the ten *Āvatāras* may be worshipped jointly or severally but there is no authority to enable a Hindu to mix up the worship of the fifth with the

eighth. With this important conclusion before us, we must proceed to study the architecture of this temple.

Fergusson says: "How this great fame came to be raised by the new sovereign Anantavarman-Choḍagaṅga-deva in a style so inferior to those of the previous dynasty must be matter of conjecture. As fresh conquerors, the Gaṅgas might not have accumulated wealth; and, moreover, they would almost certainly employ architects of their own race who were already known to them. These, coming from the Deccan, would naturally adopt the leading features of the temples of their native province in preference even to the best traits of the earlier structures. The style would thus be an intrusion breaking in upon the Orissan style."[1] The number of mistakes in this statement are incalculable, and even Burgess, who edited this book in 1910, failed to correct them, though he was helped to a very great extent by recognised authorities on Indian Architecture like Marshall. In the first place, the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga did not come to the eastern coast of India from the Deccan; they came from Gaṅgavāḍi, in Mysore, which is really Karṇāṭaka, to Kaliṅga, *i.e.*, to the Ganjam district, where they ruled for at least two centuries before they conquered Northern Orissa. Their temples at Mukhaliṅgam or Kurmeśvara do not betray any signs of Chālukya or Drāvida styles of architecture. The exotic Vaital Deul does not prove any Drāvida influence., as similar lone examples of the Dravida style are to be found in other places also, *e.g.*, the *Teli-ka-mandir* on the top of Gwalior hill. In the second place, if we believe Orissan tradition and accept Yayāti-Keśari, *i.e.*, Mahāśivagupta-

1 *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture Vol. II, pp, 108-9.*



Shrine of Pārvatī, Liṅgrāja Temple Enclosure, Bhuvaneśvara

Yayāti, as the builder of the Liṅgarāja, even then we must admit that the king was a foreigner. It has been demonstrated by Hiralal that Mahābhavagupta I—Janamejaya was an immigrant into Orissa from Kośala or Chhattisgaḍh, who had no hold upon Orissa proper. His son Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti was the first king of his dynasty who succeeded in couquering parts of Northern and Central Orissa. The style of the Liṅgarāja proves that the builder of that shrine, whether he was Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti or not, adopted the style current in the country. Similarly we have no reason to suppose that Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga adopted a new style in his temple of Jagannātha. His connection with Gaṅgavādi had ceased long centuries ago; but even in Gaṅgavāḍi proper temples of the style of the Jagannātha of Puri are totally unknown. Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga was certainly richer than the poor Somavaṁsīs of Kosala and he spent lavishly on the shrine to his tutelary deity. The degeneration of the style both of architecture and art in the temple of Jagannātha is due entirely to the general degeneration throughout the country at the close of the 11th century A. D. We must remember that at this time the political condition of the country was deplorable; the Southern chiefs fighting continually with the Northerners, the Somavaṁsīs having lost all power, and finally all Orissan chiefs having succumbed to the attacks of the Eastern Gaṅgas. It was just at the close of this period that the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* of the temple of Jagannātha were erected by Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. Art does not thrive in such an atmosphere and architecture stagnates. The degenerate art and the architecture of

the temple of Jagannātha is solely due to contemporaneous unrest and consequent stagnation of the fine arts.

The most important underlying principle in the evolution of Orissa temple architecture in Orissa appears to have been neglected by the majority of writers on the subject. From the middle of the 8th centrry to the end of the 15th, the constant principle in the evolution of Indian temples is the shape and the outline of the *Śikhara*. Out of the four styles, *Nāgara*, *Kaliṅga*, *Veśara* and *Drāviḍa*, the Kaliṅga can be recognised by the curvature of the *Śikhara*. In the beginning this curvature is slight and agrees with 7th century temples of Nachna Kuthara[1] and Aihole or Pattadkal[2]. In the first change in the Kaliṅgān style, this outline of the *Śikhara* changes and becomes abruptly curved near the *Āmalaka* as in the Baudh temples and the Liṅgarāja-Ananta-Vāsudeva and the Brahmeśvara group. Some time in the 11th century this contour again changes and becomes more regular from the top of the *Garbhgṛiha* to the *Āmalaka*. The best example of this is the temple of Jagannātha. The outline of the *Śikhara* of the Rājā Rāṇi is exactly similar to the exception of the projection in the shape of miniature *Śikharas* of miniature temples on the body of the main *Śikhara*. The drab commonplace appearance of the *Śikhara* of the Jagannātha temple is entirely due to the modification of the outline, which becomes more of the *Nāgara* type, lacking, at the same time, the dignity of the latter on account of the smooth unbroken surface of the facades of

1 *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1919.*

2 *Cousens—Chalukyan Architecture, Pl.*

the *Sikhara*. Stirling observed early in the 19th century, "It seems unaccountable, in an age when the architects obviously possessed some taste and skill, and were in most cases particularly lavish in the use of sculptural ornament, that so little pains should have been taken with the decoration and finishing of this sacred and stupendous edifice."[1] Fergusson comments on this rightly, "It is not in the detail which, however, is seriously obscured by the plasterings applied during the last two or three centuries, but the outline, the proportions, and arrangements of the temple, show that the art in the province had received a downward inpetus at the time."[2] The latest writer on the subject, the late Mr. Mono Mohan Ganguly, had no observation to make on the style of the *Śikhara* and its co-relation to earlier and later styles of temple architecture in the country.

Chanda is undoubtedly correct in assigning the Rājā-Rāṇi temple to the same period of temple building as that of the Jagannātha, thus differing from Fergusson, who placed the Rājā-Rāṇi a century before the Jagannātha. The Rājā-Rāṇi, no doubt, possesses exotic features in the numerous miniature *Śikharas* boldly projecting from the main *Śikhara*, a feature totally unknown to the mediaeval temple-type in Orissa. But the contour of the *Śikhara* and the pure Orissan *Maṇḍapa* in front of it, prove that, inspite of the introduction of exotic features, this shrine belongs to the same period of building as that of the Jagannātha at Puri.

The *Jagamohana* of the temple of Jagnnātha differs

1 *Asiatic Researches Vol, XV. p. 315.*

2 *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II. p. 109.*

from that of the Liṅgarāja in being square instead of oblong. Most probably there were two windows, one on each side, originally, but at the present moment the opening on the south is a doorway and that on the north or left totally closed. The style of construction is exactly similar to that of the Liṅgarāja and presents no new features. Further study of this important structure is precluded by the hideous plaster and whitewash with which the interior is now covered. The *Nāṭamandira* and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* were built in later times and therefore will have to be described later on. The only other structure of the same date as the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* is the temple of Lakshmi inside the inner compound. It consists of a *Vimāna*, *Jagamohana*, *Nāṭamandira*, and *Bhogamaṇḍapa*, out of which the first two are now almost completely hidden from view by a later temple on the south. The *Vimāna* is a comparatively modern structure, as shown by the earlier plinth which can be easily seen and the crudeness of human figures on it, but the *Jagamohona* has, fortunately for us, escaped plaster and whitewash. The building is cruciform in shape and possesses two beautiful carved windows with bars in them bearing decorative figures. There is a great wealth of decoration on it, specially Nāga pillars on some of which we find two and on some others three Nāgas as at Konarak. The *Nāṭamandira* and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* are later additions, as in the case of the great temple itself. The height of the *Vimāna* of Jagannātha is 214 ft. 8 ins.

In the strict chronological order we must now revert to the second and third *maṇḍapas* called, respectively, *Nāṭamandira* and *Bhogamaṇḍapa* in Orissa in all temples



Kutāitundi, Khiching

where they exist. The principal structures of this class are the Liṅgarāja, the Ananta Vāsudeva and the little temple of Pārvati in Bhuvaneśvara and the great temple of Jagannātha and the smaller temple of Lakshmi in the same compound. The very fact that the majority of the temples at Bhuvaneśvara and the Sūrya Deul at Konarak do not possess these additions prove that these members of the great temples were considered necessary after the days of Narasimha I, *i. e.*, the 13th century A. D. The *Nāṭamandira* of the Liṅgarāja is a plain square hall built in the same style as the *Jagamohana* but wider, and admits more light and air, as it is widely open on the sides. Though it is entirely devoid of ornamentation, it possesses a dignity of its own on account of the simple and chaste panelling of the exterior. Its walls are not so thick and it appears to have been built when the expenditure of a large amount was impossible. The *Nāṭamandira* of the Jagannātha is a huge clumsy affair. Even the late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly, who praised anything and everything he saw in Orissa, observed: "The natamandira is a subsequent addition to the Jagamohana, for courses of stone of the former do not correspond with those of the latter; its constructive peculiarities are similar to those of the natamandira of Lingaraja." It is square in shape and is a large roomy hall, the roof of which is supported by sixteen pillars arranged in the form of a square.[1] In front of it is the latest addition to the temple of Jagannātha, the *Bhogamaṇḍapa*, added, according to the chronicles, by Purushottamadeva (1435-97 A. D.) All three *maṇḍapas* of the

[1] *Orissa and Her Remains Pl. XX (A)*

Jagannātha have pyramidal roofs which give the whole arrangement a monotonous appearance, relieved only by the great *Śikhara* of the *Vimāna* in the back-ground. The *Bhogamaṇḍapa* has four openings in the middle of the four sides, on the great stone door-frames of which are to be found the latest examples of Orissan art, degenerate as it had become in the 15th century. At some later date the carvings on the whole of the southern facade became covered by the erection of a covered passage from the kitchen in the outer compound. The exterior of the north and east facades are painted with red ochre ; but fortunately on these two sides the carvings have escaped the vandalism of the Brahman priests of Puri. These priests think even now that the ancient emperors and kings of Orissa were totally ignorant of the art of decorating their sacred buildings and did not know the use of colour wash and modern paintings. Consequently we find cheap Bengali fresco-paintings, neither ancient nor modern, desecrating the interior of the *Nāṭamandira*, cheap glassware of the continent of Europe and, above all, modern plaster and whitewash. The roof of the *Nāṭamandira* is much lower than that of the *Jagamohana* on the east and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* on the west. Whatever beauty this great hall once possessed has been totally destroyed on account of the standard ignorance of the Brāhmaṇa priests of the temple of Jagannātha and the general conservatism of the people of Orissa, which prevents any change. Whitewash, according to the *Mādala Pāñji* was applied to this great temple sometime in the late 18th century by one of the *faineant* Gajapatis of Khurda and consequently all literate and semi-literate

priests of Jagannātha claim that originally this great temple was entirely covered with plaster and whitewash. Not only so, the remains of carvings of the exteriors of the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* have also been filled up and the grosser obscenity of the double and treble erotic reliefs accentuated by the very injudicious application of different colours. There are two gates to the two compound walls in front of the eastern gateway of the *Bhogamaṇḍapa*. The gate of the inner enclosure is ornamented in the same style as the *Bhogamaṇḍapa*, but its construction cannot be earlier than the 17th or the 18th centuries, because the decorative *motifs* used in it are still further decadent. The outer gate, *e. g.*, the eastern gate of the outer enclosure is a recent erection: the propylon is as modern as the palace of the modern Raja of Puri.

In all of the great temples of Bhuvaneśvara and Puri, the custom grew up of building small *maṇḍapas* in front of the main or central niches of three of the facades of the *Vimāna*. At the temples of Lingarāja and Jagannātha these *maṇḍapas* became necessary as struts after the underpinning of the heavy plinth. In order to hide these defects little *maṇḍapas* were erected on them and the occupants of the niches of the *Vimānas* became subsidiary objects of worship. Generally one finds Śaiva Gods in Śaiva temples like the Liṅgarāja, *e. g.*, Pārvatī, Kārtikeya, etc., and the incarnation of Vishṇu in Vaishṇava temples like the Ananta Vāsudeva and the Jagannātha. They are all very late structures and appear to be erected late in the 17th or 18th century.

We have now reached a phase in the history of the

sacred architecture of Orissa in which want of specimens compel us to stop tracing the evolution of the temple type. After the temple of Jagannātha, the only other temple in Orissa, the history of which is known, is the Sūrya Deul or the Sun Temple at Konarak. The *Vimāna* of this great temple collapsed sometime between the date of the completion of the *Āin-i-Ākbarī* and the British conquest of Orissa. Even Fergusson saw a portion of it, about 120 ft. in height in the second quarter of the 19th century. According to tradition the great temple of Konarak was built by Narasiṁha I, a far more powerful monarch than the builder of the temple of Jagannātha, Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. Further, the tradition prevalent in Orissa about the erection of the Sun Temple is corroborated by statements to the same effect in the inscriptions of his descendants Narasiṁha II and Narasiṁha IV. It is said locally that Narasiṁha I was cured of leprosy and dedicated this temple out of gratitude to the god. It is difficult to find out now for what reason the temple was built so far away from all centres of population in Orissa. There is no port close to this spot, which is about ninteen miles due north along the sea-coast from Puri. There is a metalled road for the first six miles from Puri after which the only road as far as Konarak is the trackless waste of sand of the sea-coast. Now another road has been constructed from Gop, a village about three miles W. N. W. from Konarak, and all sorts of wheeled vehicles can approach the great temple.

Originally the Sun Temple at Konarak must have been a much more imposing structure than the Liṅgarāja or



General View of the Vimāna and its three Maṇḍapas
Temple of Jagannātha at Puri

the Jagannātha temples. The *Śikhara* was still standing in 1837; but the whole of the *Vimāna* has now disappeared with the exception of the plinth moulding. The *Jagamohana* is of the same type as that of the Liṅgarāja and Jagannātha and is 129ft. 8ins. in height, while the height of the existing portion of the *Vimāna* is 30ft. In plan the arrangement of the shrine must have been the same as the original temples of Liṅgarāja and Jagannātha. It consisted of a *Vimāna* and a *Jagamohana*, both square, the former being much smaller in size than the latter. The interiors of both are perfectly square. The temple faces the east and from the only entrance of the *Vimāna* there was a long passage to the western entrance of the *Jagamohana*. On three sides of the *Vimāna* there are three structures in the same style as that of the niches of the sides of the Liṅgarāja or the Kṛittivāsa, with staircases leading to the terraces in front of them. The northern niche contains the image of the Sun on horse-back, a very rare example in Indian iconography. The southern niche contains a standing figure of the Sun in the usual fashion. The western or the rear niche also contains a similar figure of a god.

Various theories have been advanced regarding the fall of the *Vimāna*, of which that advanced by Mr. M. H. Arnott, formerly Superintending Engineer, Orissa Circle, is the most unwise. Arnott was of opinion that the temple was never used for worship and the *Vimāna* collapsed soon after the erection. Others think that the collapse of the *Vimāna* was due to the sinking of the foundations. The third theory is that according to local tradition Kālāpāhāḍ tried to raze this temple to the ground and

dislodged the heavy *Kalasa*. There are ample evidences inside the *Vimāna* to prove that the temple was used for worship for a long time before it collapsed and there are no cracks in the plinth to prove any sinkage.

The most difficult problem connected with the *Vimāna* of Konarak is its shape. Was it a regular *Śikhara* of the Liṅgarāja or the Jagannātha type or a stepped pyramid like those of the later temples of Orissa? We must wait for fresh evidence before we can state what was the shape of the *Śikhara* of the Sūrya Deul. It is now absolutely certain that the reign of Narasiṁha I marks the end of the *Śikhara* of the original Kaliṇgan type. One can not speak either with respect or with admiration of the production of Oriya architects after the 16th century. Soon after the Musalman conquest temples were built or renovated in parts of the country where the fury of the Musalman iconoclast could not reach them. All of these temples are of the type of the *Jagamohanas* of the Liṅgarāja-Jagannātha Sūrya Deul shrines. They are structures with pyramidal roofs or as Mr. Ganguly calls them *Piḍā-Deuls*. Such are the temple of Burā-Jagannātha[1] at Bāripadā in Mayurbhañj and that of Pāsa-Chaṇḍi[2] at Badsai in the same State. Most probably the temple of Bhāskareśvara at Bhuvaneśvara records an intermediate stage. The Bhāskeraśvara is a plain structure without any ornamentation and the entrance faces the west like that of the Megheśvara. An interpolated passage of the Brahma-Purāṇa shows that an older shrine of the same name existed at this place. But the shrine which is

1 *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhañj, Vol. I, Pl. 56.*

2 *Ibid., Pl. 64.*

known to-day by the name of Bhāskareśvara is much later than the Jagannātha. Its spire is a stepped pyramid, *with curved sides.* The perpendicular portion of the *Vimāna* is part of a slightly older structure in which there is on each side a second opening, about the height of the doors. But this is now closed. The whole thing stands on the edge of a platform intended for a much bigger structure.[1]

After the influx of neo-Vaishṇavism from Bengal, the Bengali style in brick temples was introduced in to Orissa. The best examples of the Muhammadan arch and the hut shaped Bengali temples are to be found at Haripur in the Mayurbhañj State.[2] Nothing remains of the Civil architecture of ancient, mediaeval or modern Orissa. Even the palaces of Pratāparudra (1597-1641), and Mukundadeva (1565-68) at Katak have been ruthlessly destroyed by vandals, both Musalman and Christian. Nothing can be written about the Civil Architecture of Orissa without the help of the excavator's spade.

Orissa and Her Remains, pp. 322-25, Pl. XVA.

2 *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja. Vol. 1, Pl. 58, 62*

CHAPTER XXX

PLASTIC ART

The history of Orissan art is as varied and interesting as her political history. Like Mālava and Gujarat, Orissa stood for centuries on the border line between the north and the south, freely imbibing the best characteristics of both, belonging wholly to neither. Her population also was mixed, the Utkalan resembling the people of the contiguous countries of the north and the Kaliṅgan approximating to the Andhra or the Telegu. In sculpture and in all forms of Art, Orissa shows a definite mixture of the north and the south, in which figure work predominated in the decorative *motifs* of her shrines mixed with a vast amount of southern decorative designs. The north always accentuates the human figure in decorative *motifs*, while the south attempts to specialise in designs which are, in majority of cases, without figure-work. The general characteristic of Orissan art is a mixture; but this mixture compares unfavourably with the mediaeval art of Mālava, in which the figure work of the north is much stronger than the decorative designs of the south.

The few sculptures and bas-reliefs of the Jain caves on the Udaygiri and Khandagiri hills have been exhaustively studied by earlier writers like Marshall. After them there is a long gap of five or six centuries which neither the excavator's spade nor the explorer's zeal have served to fill. We do not know any thing of the art of Orissa during the first six centuries of the Christian ara.



Standing Surya No. II—Surya Deul—Konārak—Puri District

When we meet with Orissan art for the first time the empire of the Guptas was a thing of the past and the early mediaeval period of the history of Northen India had already begun. In this period very little is known of the history of the country itself except that the Śailodbhavas had successfully defied the arms of the great Harshavarddhana for a long time. Of the early mediaeval art of Orissa, which can not be earlier than the sixth century A. D., very little is known even now, as no systematic survey has been attempted after the preliminary and pioneer accounts of the seventies of the last century. The great Buddhist establishment, which still remains without a name around Udaygiri, Ratnangiri and Lalitagiri in the Cuttack district of Orissa, serves only as a quarry for railways and is the only locality from which collectors still find it possible to cart away priceless objects of art for their collections.

The road to this locality lies from either of the railway stations at Byree or Dhanmandal on the Bengal Nagpur Railway. The highest hill is the Udaygiri, at the bottom of which there is a colosal image of Buddha, half buried in the debris and the jungle, which like the great Buddha of Baudh is built in sections.[1] This Buddha is a seated figure in the *Bhumisparśa mudra* and measures 9 feet in height.[2] Close by is the Naltigiri, on which there are a number of rock-cut figures all of which are about 5 feet in height. One of these is a regular Lokeśvara with a miniature figure of Amitābha on the head dress.[3] It was

[1] *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Vol. XV, p. 70.*
[2] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol. XXXIX, pp. 1635; Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, p. 161, pl. LIX.*
[3] *Ibid., p. 162.*

not possible to judge the standard of excellence of these early Buddhist sculptures from Ratnagiri and Udaygiri on the basis of the crude drawings and lithographs published by earlier writes. Even the inscriptions mentioned by late Chandrasekhara Banerji or Beams have not been correctly deciphered as yet. The neglect is extremely deplorable, but sculpture is not studied in the newly created province of Bihar and Orissa, though it possesses a museum, a research society and an university of its own. The pioneer in the field of scientific analysis of the oldest mediaeval Orissan art is Professor Haran Chandra Chakladar, M. A., of the University of Calcutta, whose photographs of the Udaygiri images as published in a well-known Bengali monthly are the best yet known.[1] From the meagre description given by this scholar we can now judge that the standard of the Buddhist art of these neglected ruins of Orissa is far above that which we see in later mediaeval shrines, whether Hindu or not. The great Bengali literateur Bankim Chandra went into raptures over the sculptures of Udaygiri and Lalitagiri. It now appears that the great Buddha built in sections possesses another rival on the top of Lalitagiri which is far superior in standard of excellence to the former. Along with these a number of photographs have been published by Prof. Chakladar which throw intense light on the practically unknown Buddhist sculpture of Orissa. Many images are still buried in debris and many more have been recently brought to Calcutta, the most notable among these being the recent additions to the Calcutta museum by Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda and those lent

1 *Prabāsī-1335 (B. S). Vol. XXVIII, part I, No. 6; Āśvina, pp. 811-18.*

for a time to the Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad by Mr. Ajit Kumar Ghosh, M. A., B. L. Among the photographs published by Prof. Chakladar are a beautiful Sita Tārā from Ratnagiri and the figure of a dancing male with a garland of skulls, holding a staff surmounted by a human skull in the crook of his right hand. In age and excellence these two images belong the first known period of *renaissance* in Orissa. Had it been possible to determine the exact characteristics of the stage immediately preceeding this renaissance, then it might have been feasible to determine the nature and amount of changes introduced during it. The succeeding steps are perfectly clear. The style and artistic ideals steadily declined till about the beginning of the 9th century, when it revived in certain localities only.

Our knowledge of the Buddhist plastic art of Udaygiri Lalitagiri and Ratnagiri and the Cuttack district is derived from the older accounts incorporated in Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra's account of the antiquities of Orissa, now described again by Prof. Haran Chandra Chakladar, M. A., of the Calcutta University, a collection of images recently acquired for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, by Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda B. A., P. A. S. B., Superindent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, and a second acquired by Mr. Ajit Kumar Ghosh M. A., B. L. These sculptures fall into four separate divisions :—

A. The earliest mediaeval sculptures characterised by naturalism, perfect equipoise combined with a very high standard of idealistic excellence—with the exception of the figures *in situ*—are a Kubera with two

hands (No. 6943 of the Indian Museum) and a two armed Lokeśvara (No. 6942 of the same collection) and a Mārichi with eight hands (No. 6957 of the same collection). Very probably a Vajrapāṇi (No. 6953 of the same collection) belongs to the same group. In Mr. Ajit Ghosh's collection the upper part of a fine image of Vajrapāṇi attended by a miniature figurine of the *Dhvāni Buddha* Akshobhya, seated on a lotus, is certainly the best and the oldest.[1] Prof. Chakladar's photographs include several images still esconced in their orginal niches. These niches are perhaps at the base of Lalitagiri (modern Naltigiri) described by earlier writers like Beames and Banurji.[2] Unfortunately Prof. Chakladar's description is not very clear and therefore a certain amount of confusion has been added to that already existing on account of transpositions in the captions of the Bengali magazine *Prabāsī*. The figure labelled *Devī* from Lalitagiri is really one of Vajraghaṇṭā as identified by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, M. A., Ph. D.[3] The photographs published by Prof. Chakladar show that this image also is esconced in a niche proving that some old remains still exist on the Ratangiri. The Lokeśvara labelled Kubera is really a Sthirachakra, as the presence of the sword on a lotus clearly indicates. In the Jambhala from Lalitagiri there is a certain amount of grossness, which is perhaps due to individual artistic capacity; but in general lines this image belongs to the earlist group of mediaeval sculptures of Orissa. This grossness is

1 *See Pl.*

2 *Antiquities of Orissa. Vol. II. p. 162. Pl. LIX (Temple of Basuli Ṭhākrāṇi).*

3 *Buddhist Iconography, p. Pl.*



Colossal Buddha *in sito*—Opposite the Palace of the Chief of the Baudh State

decidedly absent from the two Buddha figures in *Bhumi-sparśa Mudrā*, one on the Lalitagiri and the other on the Udaygiri. The former undoubtedly belongs to the highest point of excellence reached by the artists of Orissa. One of these two, again, the Buddha from Lalitagiri, has been brought to public notice by Prof. Chakladar.

B. The first renaissance was followed by a period of decline of which specimens are very few. The best example is perhaps a figure of Lokeśvara with two hands (No. 6948 in the Indian Museum Collection). There are two specimens of the second class in Mr. Ajit Ghosh's collection. The first is the head of the Bodhisatva Syamantaka(?), who is always seated in a rocky cave attended by the five *Dhyāni Buddhas*.[1] In the fragments of the back-slab we find the seated figure of Maitreya in addition. A long but fragmentary *Dhāraṇī* on the back shows that the image cannot be later than the 9th century A. D., yet it is a decadent figure. The only other image of this class known to us is a tall image of Lokeśvara with four hands in the Ghosh collection (6 ft. 3 ins. by 2 ft. 8 ins.). The figure of the spiritual ancestor can not be distinguished, and the Bodhisatva holds an indistinct object in the upper right hand and a rosary in the lower, while the upper right holds a lotus and the lower rests on the head of a figure of Jambhala standing on rocks to the right. A small figure of Sita Tārā stands on the left. This particular image is unsymmetrical, as length is much more than the breadth, like 10th century images of the Bengal School of Sculpture.

C. In the 10th century A. D. there is a second

1 *Ibid.*, *Pl.*

renaissance in Buddhist sculpture. The artists succeeded in re-invigorating their products. The best example is perhaps the great Buddha at Baudh. This image is still *in situ.* Its temple lay just in front of the Rājā's palace at Baudh and has simply been covered up by debris on account of a local superstition. The total height of this image is 6 ft. 9 ins. of which the seated figure measures 4 ft. 3 ins. in height and 3 ft. 10 ins. from knee to knee. It is seated in the *Bhumisparśa Mudrā* on a lotus throne, 1 ft. 2 ins. in height, placed on a pedestal 11 ins, in height and 4 ft. 6 ins. in breadth. Like the great Buddha at Udaygiri in the Cuttack district, the whole of this image is built up in sections with separately carved stones. The only attendant figures are two *Gandharvas* flying with garlands in their hands on the sides of the head. On the whole, the colossus of Baudh compares favourably with similar colossi at Udaygiri and Lalitagiri in the Cuttack district. The image is uninscribed and below the pedestal is the ancient stone pavement of the original shrine.[1] There is a certain grossness in the face which is certainly wanting in the colossi of the Cuttck district. Alike to this colossus is another brought from the Cuttack district by Mr. Ajit Ghosh. This is a figure of Buddha in the *Varada Mudrā* which most probably represents the incident of the subjection of the assassins hired by Devadatta to murder Buddha in the narrow streets of Rājagriha as indicated by the kneeling male to the left of the figure (7 ft. 3 ins. by 2 ft. 9 ins.). From the general standard and the expression on the face the large image of Sita Tārā, with two hands the left hand

[1] About the local superstition connected with this image see *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XV. 1929, p. 70.*

in the *Varada Mudrā* and the right holding a lotus with stalk, attended by Bhṛikuṭi with four hands on the right and a kneeling male on the left belongs to the third period (5 ft. 10 ins. by 2 ft. 2 ins.). Much later in the scale is a small image of Buddha in the *Bhumisparśa Mudrā* (3 ft. 10 ins, by 2 ft. 7 ins.). Though the main figure is in the *Bhumisparśa Mudrā* it is seated on a large lotus on a stalk below which are two figures seated on each side, and a third figure to the immediate left of the stalk is a kneeling monk. These figures are placed in an attitude and position in which the figures of the vanquished Tirthikas and King Prasenajit of Kośala are to be found in separate images representing the great miracle of Śrāvasti.[1] There are six smaller images on the back slab, three on each side. On the right to be found, from the top : (1) Manjuśri, (2) Vajrasattva and (3) Male seated, two hands. On the left hand side we find : (1) Vajrapāni, (2) Lokeśvara with two hands and (3) another Lokeśvara. Over the halo of the figure are represented the branches of a Aśvattha tree indicating that the figure is meant to be a *Vajrāsāna-Buddha-Bhaṭṭāraka*. On the halo itself we find the Buddhist creed, the characters of which enable us to determine the age of the sculpture. It is the alphabet of North-eastern India, of which the palatal *Śa*, in which the upper part of the letter has ceased to be one curve and is separated into two separate strokes : a vertical straight line on the left and a curve which touches the straight line on the right. In the inscriptions of the adjoining province of Bengal this form of *Śa* is used exclusively in the 10th century. The next from of Śa is to be met with for the

1 *Journal Asiatique, Tome IX.*

first time in the records of Mahipāla I of Bengal. So far as is known, the earliest occurrence of this transitional form is in the Bodh-Gaya inscription of the 26th year of Dharmapāla. From the fact that this transitional form is very largely used in the votive inscriptions of Bengal and Bihar in the earlier part of the 10th Century A. D., it would be reasonable to infer that the second renaissance movement in the plastic art of Orissa also belongs to the same period. Images of this class can be called renaissance products in a limited sense, because compared with specimens of period "A" they are still crude in conception, because proportion is not regularly observed and there is a general degeneration of ideal in the execution of faces.

D. In the fourth period of mediaeval plastic activity of Orissa there is a reversion to the local type in the execution of the human face. This may be called the "Oriya type." The earliest instance of this is a large figure of Buddha, also in the *Bhumisparśa Mudrā* in the Ghosh collection (4ft. 4ins. by 2ft. 10ins.). The face shows a lessening or weakening of the jaws. This becomes more pronounced in the colossus of the same collection (6ft. 8ins. by 2ft 8ins.) in which the type of the face approximates to that of the average low class Oriyā of the Garhjats. Exactly the same feature is to be observed in the Buddha from Khiching[1] in which the branches of the Aśvattha tree seem to rise out of the *Ushṇīsha* on Buddha's head.

The decline in the standard and the ideals of Orissan artists has to be judged according to locality and not in a general synthesis. Moreover, the artistic graph is

[1] *Bhanja Dynasty of Mayur-Bhanj and their ancient capital Khiching, Pl. XII.*



Padmapāṇi from Kendrapara,
Indian Museum, Calcutta



Upper Part of Vajrapāṇi, *Ghosh Collection*



Mātṛikā Māheśvarī, Puri



Mātṛikā, Vaishnavī, Puri
The original head is subsequently replaced.



Buddha Touching Earth, Udayagiri,



Avalokiteśvara from Kendrapara,
Indian Museum, Calcutta



Maitreya, Nalatigiri



Vajrapāṇi from Kendrapara,
Indian Museum, Calcutta

distinctly unparallel between Buddhist, Hindu and Jaina images. While the Buddhist centres of Baudh and Udaygiri of the Cuttack district and Khiching flourished, plastic art was yet in its nascent stage in the great Hindu centre of Bhuvaneśvara. Khiching was only a minor centre of Buddhism, as only one Buddhist temple and a few images, decidedly Buddhist, have been discovered there. That the art and architecture of Khiching was strongly influenced by the contiguous province of south-western Bengal has already been noticed by Chanda.

In the "A" period there are certain characteristics which a Coomaraswamy or a Ganguli would have styled "Gupta" ; the expression of the face, the modelling of the torso and the schematic arrangement of the locks of long hair over the shoulders of the Vajrapāṇi, all indicate the highest stage of plastic art which Orissa attained in the mediaeval period. Let us compare the face of Vajrasattva with that of the Tārā of period "C" ; the expression on the face and the moulding of the torso would vividly express the difference between the "A" period and the "C" period in the plastic art of Orissa. Consequently, if the Buddha in the *Bhumisparśa Mudrā* of the Ghosh collection (3ft. 10ins. by 2ft. 7ins.) belongs to the earlier part of the 10th century, all "A" class images, both in the Udaygiri-Lalitagiri-Ratnagiri group and at other places can be safely assigned to the middle of the 8th century or its beginning. In certain periods there is a concurrence between Buddhist images in two different centres of Orissa. The fine Mārichi from Khiching[1] bears a generic resemblance to the

[1] *Ibid.: Pl. V (a).*

equally fine *Trailokya-Vijaya* in the collection of Mr. A. K. Ghosh (3ft. 2ins. by 1ft. 8ins.).

Before tackling the general question of Hindu images and sculptures we must turn for a minute towards early Jaina sculptures. Early mediaeval Jaina images are rather rare in Orissa. The best known examples are rock-cut figures. One such is a standing image of Rishabhanātha in the cave now called Lalatendu Keśari's cave. In general Jaina images, later than the Gupta period, are very difficult to judge. This Digambara image standing in the stereotyped *Kāyotsarga* posture is unnatural and disproportionate, but Jaina canons demand that the hands and the ears should be unnaturally long and the posture should be that of a soldier standing at attention. The face is mutilated and therefore the expression cannot be judged. This cave was excavated in the fifth year of the little known king Udyotakeśarī,.[1] We are more fortunate in the case of the series of figures in the Bāra-bhujī cave, where, though no dated inscription is available, the sculptures are in better preservation. The twenty-four *Tīrthaṅkaras* of the present *Kalpa* are arranged in a row along the upper part of the rear and side walls, with an umbrella on the head of each and below the lotus throne, the *Lānchhana*, *Vṛiksha* of each. Under each *Tīrthaṅkara*, separated by a broad plain band, is the Śāsana-devī of each. The sculptures generally agree in character with the "C" period of Buddhist sculpture and appear to belong to the late 9th or the early 10th century A. D.

[1] See *Ante*. Vol. I.

There is a sudden break in the mediaeval plastic art of Orissa. The great Hindu centres are Bhuvaneśvara and Jajpur, and at both places the Hindu sculptures are much earlier than those of Puri or Konarak. As Chanda has pointed out, the splendid sculptures of Khiching have very little connection in the earlier stages with the evolution of the plastic art of Orissa in general. Orissa still abounds in sculptures of all classes, but no attempt has yet been made to survey them, in order that analysis or synthesis may be possible. In 1911-12 the writer collected a large number of images from the compound of the Kedāra-gaurī temple at Bhuvaneśvara and the old Circuit house at Puri for the Archaeological section of the Indian Museum at Calcutta, which vary in date from the 8th to the 13th century. Though extremely interesting from the point of vew of Hindu Iconography, they could not be precisely dated at that time and offered no help to the study of the evolution of plastic art of Orissa. Such a study, forming just the beginning of a regular synthesis, has become possible after Chanda's exploration of Khiching, his intelligent study of the sculptures of the Liṇgarāja or Kṛittivāsa temple, Prof. Chakladar's researches in the Udaygiri, Lalitagiri and Ratnagiri sites along with the publication of Wilhelm Cohn's *Indische Plastik*. Codringtons' *Ancient India* and Coomaraswamy's *History of Fine Art in India and Indonesia*. As soon as the analysis of Buddhist sculptures is over, the student is faced with a very serious difficulty, a paucity of inscribed sculptures, which can be, more or less precisely dated. In the study of Hindu sculptures one has to fall back upon great centres like Bhuvaneśvara,

Jajpur and Konarak and select images still *in situ.* Thereafter, when special characteristics have been determined, we can proceed with the chronology and art criticism.

Chanda's partial excavation of the area around the temple of Kiñchakeśvari at Khiching has brought to light hundreds of beautiful sculptures and architectural specimens. In the narrow neck of the undulated country between the river Khayar-bandhan in the north and the Kanta-Khayar in the south are situated the ruins of Khiching. On the southern bank of the Khayar-bandhan is a fort ascribed to King Virāṭa, rectangular in shape and surrounded by a wet ditch. There is a larger fort near the north bank of the river Kanta-Khayar of the same shape and surrounded by masonry walls and a wet ditch. The space between these forts contains numerous temples, large and small tanks and small mounds. The entire place, as seen by the writer in March 1929, is the site of a large ancient city peopled by a much more civilized race than the modern inhabitants—mostly Kols, Santals, Oraons and a few regular Oṛiyās. In this ancient city the majority of Hindu temples were situated between the Kanachira and Kukuda-ghara tanks, the centre of attraction being the temple of Chāmuṇḍā called Kincha-keśvari. At a little distance from the modern hut, in which the fine image of Chāmuṇḍā is kept, is the temple of Chandraśekhara, which is the only ancient structure still intact in the neighbourhood. At a greater distance are the ruiṇs of the Buddhist temple called Itamundia, while near the Kukudaghara tank is the only other standing structure, the temple, now called Kutai-Tundi. But



Colossal Buddha in Varadā Mudrā from Cuttack District—
Ghosh Collection



Colossal Buddha in the Abhaya. Mudrā from Cuttack District—
Ghosh Collection



Avalokiteśvara, Chandwar,
Ca, 11th Century A. D.



Buddhist Goddess, Chandwar,
Ca, 11th Century A. D.



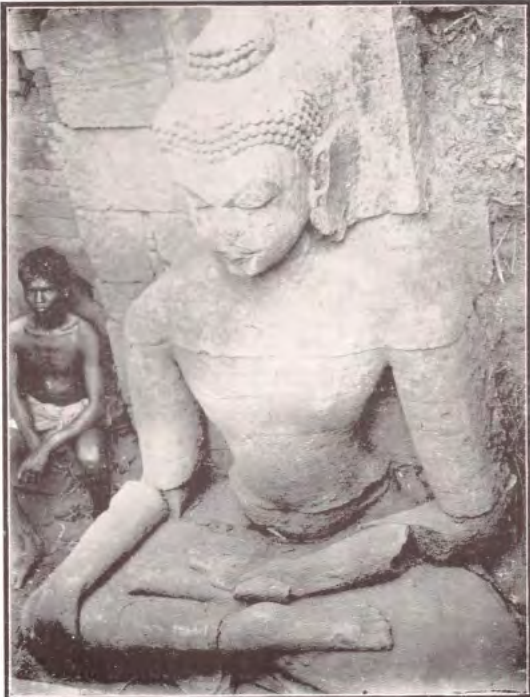
Statue of Goddess, Lalitagiri



Manjuśrī, Lalitagiri



Vajrāsana Buddha Bhaṭṭāraka from Cuttack District—*Ghosh collection*



Colossal Buddha, Udayagiri

Chanda's exploration has brought to light four or five plinths of ancient temples inside the circle shown on the map as "Wire fencing." It is now possible to judge the date of Khiching sculptures as a general whole and determine their co-relation with those of the Buddhist centre of Udaygiri-Lalitagiri-Ratnagiri and the Hindu centre of Bhuvaneśvara. Khiching sculptures were certainly influenced by the art of other provinces, specially that of South-western Bengal. Inspite of this fact we can easily distinguish three different stages in the plastic art of this locality :

A. The earliest period of Hindu Art, which is certainly older than the oldest sculpture in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneśvara and possibly also than the decorative human figures on the Mukteśvara. Inspite of the influence from South-western Bengal, this is the beginning of the best period of Hindu sculpture in Orissa. The lower part of the door jamb recovered from the Khandiya Deul shows a typically South-Indian over-developed bust in females, the *Lalita-bhaṅga* posture of both female figures; and above all, in the larger jamb, the three exquisitely beautiful vertical bands :—(a) the meandering creeper beginning with a Satyrical figure at the bottom and with pairs of *amorini* in the inter-spaces, (b) the broad central band with bizarre arabesque, the beginning of which Indian art shows for the first time in the Gupta period proper and which culminates in the great Hoysaḷa school of Belur and Sravaṇa Beḷgola and (c) the narrowest band on the proper left, consisting of a new type in ornamental foliage.[1] To the

[1] Chanda—*Bhanja Dynasty of Mayurbhanj and their Ancient Capital Khiching, Pl. II.*

same class belongs the still complete door frame of the Kutai-Tundi temple.[1] The remarks about the door jambs from the Khandiya Deul apply with the equal vigour to the two female figures in Pl. X, but No. 115 shows that the influence of the art of South-western Bengal was not entirely predominant in Khiching. This sculpture is certainly the precursor of the splendid decorative figurines of the Liṅgarāja and the Rājā-Rāni. The incomplete nature of the giant Śiva[2] and the Narteśvara[3] prevents us from judging the extent of foreign influence but the attendant figurines are of the same class as No. 115 of Pl. X. The upper part of the Nāga possesses the face of the regular Kolian type and therefore cannot be classed as a regular Orissan sculpture.

The Buddha in the *Bhumisparśa Mudrā* and the female with the child recovered from the Khandiya Deul are regularly Orissan in features and the latter is the precursor of the decorative figures of the later temples ;[4] some of which found an asylum in the Indian Museum at Calcutta before 1882.[5] A comparison of this figure with those in the Calcutta Museum shows that the affected pose of the latter figures is absent in Khiching sculpture. The accentuation of the hips, the affected posture of the torso and the impossible position in at least one of the Calcutta Museum figures show that Khiching art of the earliest period is not conventionalized to the extent of the Rājā-Rāṇi

1 *Ibid., Pl. V.*
2 *Ibid., Pl. XI.*
3 *Ibid., Pl. XV.*
4 *Ibid., Pl. XIII (b)*
5 *Orissa and Her Remains, Pl. XVI.*

group. At the same time attention must be drawn to the peculiarly southern *coiffure*, reminiscent of Ajanta, almost entirely absent in contemporary purely northern plastic art.[1] The difference between the artistic ideal of the "A" period of Khiching and that of the decorative figures of the temple of Kṛittivāsa or Liṅgarāja cannot be better illustrated than by a comparison of the figure of Śiva from the great temple at Khiching[2] with that of Kārtikeya in one of the side niches of the *Vimāna* of the Liṅgarāja.[3] In the latter, art had become stereotyped and had lost the virile equipoise of the best period of Khiching. The regular Orissan type is to be found in the splendid Mahisha-Mardini from Khiching[4] as well as the two Nāgas of the "B" period from the same place.[5]

Before proceeding with the narrative of the final stages in the evolution of plastic art in Orissa we must turn aside for a moment to consider certain statements of the late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguly. The first statement worth noticing is :—"Indian artists have not thought it worth their while to copy from the life ; art was to them a means of removing the veil surrounding nature, or apparent reality. To copy from a living model, they knew to be a very easy task not worth pursuing ; in this, they could have easily excelled if they would, and this is borne out by reference to the magnificent war-horse led by a warrior, or the huge elephant lying within the compound of the

1 *Khiching, Pl. X (No. 115 of the Khiching Musuem) and Pl. XIII* (*b*)
2 *Ibid., Pl. XIX.*
3 *Ibid., Pl. XX.*
4 *Ibid., Pl. XXI.*
5 *Ibid., Pl. XXIV.*

temple at Konārka, or the huge bull within the precincts of the temple of Lingarāja at Bhuvaneśvara."[1] The statement is misleading and incorrect. Regarding the unnatural idealism of mediaeval art in India we must take each class separately. The high standard of plastic art reached by Orissan artists prove definitely that artists of this province copied nature only where it was required, *e. g.*, the bas-reliefs in the Liṅgarāja or the Konarak temples; but they followed their own standard of idealism in the case of divine or semi-divine figures, where the real form was really unknown. Even Coomaraswamy did not observe this difference.[2]

The next point which must be noticed in connection with the evolution of plastic art in Orissa is the presence of indecent figures in exterior decorations of temples. About this the late Mr. Ganguly observes :—"One of the most perplexing features of Orissan Architecture and Sculpture is the presence of indecent figures defiling the sacred walls of the Jagamohana, Nātamandira, &c., except those of the sanctum. The sight of such figures representing various scenes of voluptuousness is puzzling and nauseating. One is at a loss to understand why they have a place at all within the sacred enclosure. Not being able to account for this anomaly, one is surely to be led into the pitfall of an erroneous conclusion that the artist who designed these ornaments to decorate the outer walls of a temple must have belonged to a race most morally depraved, and vicious. I enquired of the local pandits for a reasonable explanation, who could offer none; I came

1 *Orissa and Her Remains, p. 223.*

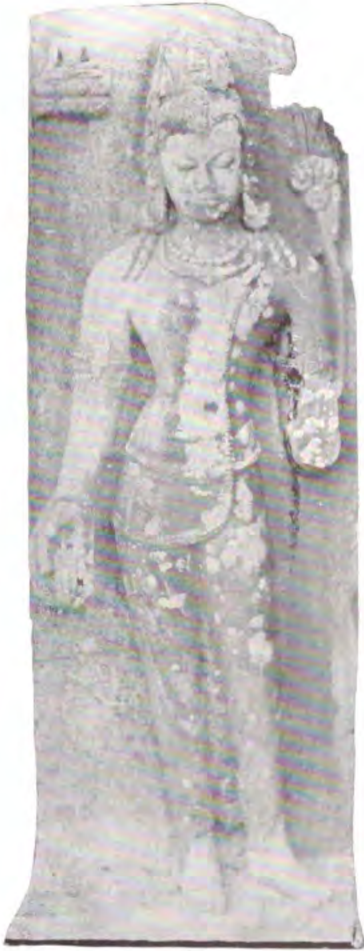
2 *Essays in National Idealism, p. 25.*



Mātṛikā Indrānī, Jajpur



Mātṛikā Kaumārī, Jajpur


Avalokiteśvara, Nalatigiri


Four-armed Lokeśvara, *Ghosh Collection*



Avalokiteśvara, Ratnagiri



Vaiśrāvaṇa, Udayagiri



Gaṇeśa of the Mātṛikā-group, Puri



Mātṛikā, Vrāhmāṇī, Puri

to learn afterwards that such indecent figures are prevalent not only in Orissa, but in other parts of India as well. As an illustration, I may cite the case of the temple of the Kandarya Mahadeva at Khajuraho in Bundelkhand."[1]

The presence of indecent figures on religious edifices is still a puzzle. They are not confined to any particular sect or to any province. In Orissa they are to be found in the Śaiva temples of Bhuvaneśvara, the Vaishṇava temple at Puri and the Saura temple at Koṇāraka. They are found on some of the Khajuraho temples in Central India and many of the modern temples of Bengal, where indecent figures are found in terra cotta. Finally, they are still used in the painting and decoration of metal and wooden *rathas* of the Bengali Vaishṇavas. In the writer's childhood there were numerous such figures belonging to the *ratha* of zamindars of Kunjaghata, who are descended from Mahārājā Nanda Kumar Rai, in the Murshidabad district of Bengal.

Finally, the late Mr. Ganguly ventures forth a theory which is extremely impossible and fallacious. Early in the last century writers on Indian art and antiquities spoke glibly of Buddhist railings, Buddhist *Stūpas*, etc., but now we know that the *stūpa* or the tree in railing was a device common both to Buddhism and Jainism. Mr. Ganguly states : "I have referred to a decided Buddhist reminiscence noticed in the Brahminical sculpture of Orissa ; I have shown in the second chapter that Orissa at one time was a seat of Buddhism, and as an offshoot of Brahminism, it was slowly assimilated by the former throughout the length and breadth of India, and formed

[1] *Ibid., pp. 227-28.*

an integral part of it. The religious rites of the parent stock and the branch got nicely commingled together; without referring to any particular text such as that of the Mahāyāna Tāntrika school, this can be clearly proved by making a comparative study of the Buddhistic and Brahminical iconography. I have already mentioned in this chapter some of the allied features. The figure III, Plate V (A) illustrating floral devices issuing out of a vase or urn is a distinct piece of Buddhist sculpture noticed on some of the Buddhist remains. This is met with in the temples of Paraśurāmeśvara and Vaitāl at Bhuvaneśvara. This ornamental device is noticed in the Buddhist and Brahminical caves at Elura."[1] It will not be necessary to go far in order to prove the fallacy of Mr. Ganguly's ideals about the sectarian origin of these decorative *motifs*. None of the Buddhist, Jaina or Hindu excavations of Verul (called Ellora or Elura by mistake) can be earlier than the 7th century A.D. Yet the same *motifs* in a chaster and more elegant form have been found by Rai Bahadur Pandit Daya Ram Sahni in the Dasāvatāra temple at Deogaḍh in the Jhansi district and by the writer at Bhumra in the Nagod State.

The evolution of the chaitya-window as a decorative *motif* is nowhere better illustrated in India than in the early mediæval temples of Orissa (800-1200 A.D.). It has been stated above that the chaitya-windows of the Paraśurāmeśvara are early Gupta in form. The two types used in the *Jagamohana* of this temple can be traced back as early as the lintel bearing the *Kshānti-vādin Jātaka* in the Sarnath Museum. But the great

[1] *Orissa and Her Remains*, pp. 233-36.

chaitya-windows on the facades of the *Śikhara* show the beginning of stylization. In the first stage the chaitya-window is practically the same. It is converted into three separate chaitya-windows, one over the other. There are three similar ones over the central niche at the back and two such over the side niches.[1] The next step is reached in the Mukteśvara where the base is formed by a narrow band bearing small sunken panels with bas-reliefs, one of the very best examples of the idea of real naturalism and perspective of the Orissa artist. Even the side wings are complete. The medallion consists of five different circles, unconcentric, but placed within one another. The largest periphery contains a bell in the centre, hung from a ellipsoid projection on the top of the medallion, from a chain which issues out of the mouth of a *Kīrttimukha* placed above the projection. The second is much smaller and contains a lotus. The third and fourth are really one, and the fourth and the smallest contains a human head in relief. The bands of the *Śikhara* on the sides are really innumerable chaitya-windows, superimposed, in fret work. In the *Vimāna* of the Liṅgarāja we see the next step, in which the ornament consists of a large chaitya-window above, and a smaller one in projection in front of it, while below the smaller chaitya-window there is a third, of about the same size. The larger chaitya-window contains two circular medallions while the same number are to be found in the two smaller ones. The chaitya-window *motif* is amply used over this facet, at the base of which this collection of

[1] *Ibid.*, Pls. XII-XIII.

chaitya-windows has been placed. A similar arrangement is to be found in the central facet of the northern facade also. Slightly diversified is the chaitya-window in the central facet of the northern facade of the *Jagamohana*, but here there is a bas-relief below it and a miniature temple on each flank. This arrangement occupies the central area of six out of the nine steps in the lowest tier of the pyramidal roof. There is a similar arrangement in the second tier where the chaitya-windows occupy five out of seven steps, but in this case there are *Śikharas* instead of stepped pyramids on the miniature temples on the sides. There is only one chaitya-window with two medallions. Exactly the same arrangement is to be found in the central facet of the southern facade of the *Jagamohana.* The large and beautiful chaitya-window on the ends of the Vaitāl Deul are slightly earlier. They resemble those in the facade of the Viśvakarmā Cave at Ellora or Verul.[1] There are two chaitya-windows over the central niche of the type of the panels of the Gāndhāra niches, consisting of a central circular projection with a pointed top and a segment of an arch hanging from each end of the central portion.[2] The lower chaitya-window is complete with medallion but without side wings and has been placed over the pilasters as a roof ; but only the two segments of arcs are preserved of the upper and larger chaitya-window. Most probably the upper part of this chaitya-window was destroyed when this portion was plastered over and the three *Āmalakas* surmounted by *Triśūlas* placed over it by somebody ignorant of the shape

1 Coomaraswamy—*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Pl.

2 Foucher—*L'Art Greco-Bouddhique du Gāndhāra.*



Mātṛikā Chāmuṇḍā, Puri



Mātṛikā Chāmuṇḍā, Jajpur



Mārichi from Kendrapara,
Indian Museum, Calcutta



Tārā from Kendrapara,
Indian Museum, Calcutta



Tārā, Ratnagiri



Bhairava, Ratnagiri



Avalokiteśvara, Udayagiri



Avalokiteśvara, Udayagiri

of the Dravidian *Gopuram*. The chaitya-window occurs in its latest stylized form on the *Śikhara* of the Rājā-Rāṇī, where the arcs of two superimposed chaitya-windows have coalesced to form something of the shape of Saracenic arch. This form of the chaitya-window alone will be sufficient to prove the very late date of the Rājā-Rāṇī, because in Sarnath my friend Pt. Govinda Malaviya has succeeded in proving that the coalescence of the arcs of the upper and lower chaitya-windows cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 11th century. Further stylization of the chaitya-window is to be observed in the temple of Lakshmī in the compound of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri. Here the upper arc and the sidewings have formed a separate figure in which under a pointed arch there are three medallions, circular in shape but the peripheries of which intersect. The plastering of the temple of Jagannātha and the total destruction of ornaments of the exterior of the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana* have made it impossible to judge the shape of the chaitya-window used in these two structures. The final form of the chaitya-window in Orissan buildings is to be found in the plinth of the *Vimāna* of the Sūrya Deul at Konārak. The chaitya-window forms a bold projection in the plinth moulding, the *Pāda*, just below the *Kumbha*, and stands chastely apart between the larger *Kumbhas* in projection. From the top of it rises a long projection, which ends in a rectangular sunken panel, containing a meandering creeper which ends just below the *Basanta*.[1]

From the earliest period of mediaeval art in Orissa

[1] For the Provincial terminology see—*Orissa and Her Remains*, Pl. II, IV (A)

till the 13th century A. D., another favourite device was the Nāga pillar. We find the use of it for the first time in the twin temples at Gandharāḍi, where each opening of the stylized chaitya-window of the Liṅgarāja type is profusely used, as also in the Sūrya Deul at Konārak. Here we find chaitya-windows with two medallions and the upper projection ending in a *Kīrttimukha* and the entire *motif* surrounded by ornamental foliage. In other cases we find a chaitya-window placed over another medallion, both having more than one concentric medallion.[1] This is the last phase in the evolution of this *motif*, which was neglected by later artists and is almost totally absent in the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri.

Jagamohana is flanked by a pair of thick pillars each of which is surrounded by the scaly coils of the body of a snake from the bottom upward. The upper part of the pillar or pilaster of the right hand side ends in the bust of a male and that on the left with that of a female.[2] Such Nāga pillars are conspicuous by their absence in the temple of Paraśurāmeśvara. They re-appear once more in the Mukteśvara as thin columns used as pilasters in the exterior.[3] The best Nāga pillars in the compound of the Liṅgarāja are those to be found on the *Jagamohana* of the temple of Pārvatī, which nobody seems to have photographed up to this time. The Nāga pillars of the Mukteśvara and the Liṅgarāja groups are thin pilasters and not bold round mouldings like those of the twin temples at Gandharāḍi or those of the Rājā-Rāṇī. The

1 William Cohn—*Indische Plastik, Berlin. 1923, Tafel, 69.*

2 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XV, Pls ; I-II.*

3 *Orissa and Her Remains, p. 283.*

Nāga pillars in these two temples stand in magnificent relief against the openings. Exactly similar are the splendid fragments of Nāga pillars discovered by Chanda at Khiching, none of which have been reproduced as yet except a small Nāgi and two Nāgas.[1] The Nāga pilasters of the Mukteśvara show the bodies of the snakes as descending instead of ascending. The front door of the *Jagamohana* shows the Nāgas ascending as at Gandharāḍi. There is a gap between the Rājā-Rāṇi and the temple of Lakshmi in the compound of the Jagannātha at Puri where we find for the first time twin Nāgas on the same pillar *(Nāga-yugma)* as well as a combination of three Nāgas (*Nāga-trayī*). Like the exquisite temple of Pārvati in the Liṅgarāja enclosure, the temple of Lakshmi in the compound of the Jagannātha temple has attracted very little attention. The *Vimāna* has been rebuilt in later times, but the *Jagamohana* and the *Nāṭamandira* are still well preserved and in these two structures, the twin Nāgas and the three Nāgas can be seen to their best advantage. Such Nāga pilasters were also profusely used at Konārak, and here we see the general decline in the idea, in the loss of the sense of proportion and the expression of idealistic beauty on the faces.[2] Before proceeding to discuss the art of the final renaissance in Orissa we must turn for a while to the two exotics in the mediaeval temple architecture of Orissa, *viz*., the Vaitāl Deul and the Rājā-Rāṇi. The decorative *motifs* of the Vaitāl Deul stamp it as belonging to the same period as the

1 *Khiching Pls. XXII-XXIII.*

2 *Indische Plastik, Tafel, 66.*

Paraśurāmeśvara and the shape of its *Jagamohana* corroborates the evidence. The principal decorative *motif* is the unchanged chaitya-window of the Viśvakarmā cave type which is found in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple only. The perpendicular projection in front of the *Vimāna* also shows this type of the chaitya-windows.[1] The *Jagamohana* is exactly of the same shape in plan and elevation as those of the Paraśurāmeśvara and the Gandharāḍi temples. The chastity of the carving and the sparse decorative *motifs* prove it to be slightly earlier than the Mukteśvara. Its date has been discussed in the previous chapters, but the special distinctive feature of the decorative art of this temple is, like its architecture, the southern development of the Gāndhāra type of the chaitya-window.

Like the Vaitāl Deul the Rājā-Rāṇi is an exotic in Orissan architecture. In this temple human figures, used in decoration, are perhaps the finest. In chastity of design, poise in execution and sense of proportion the Rājā-Rāṇi figures are perhaps unrivalled.[2] So also in the case of pure decorative *motifs* like the meandering creeper turning into scroll ornamental foliage, the Rājā-Rāṇi possesses a distinct advantage over the Liṅgarāja or the Ananta Vāsudeva. In the south-western corner of the Rājā-Rāṇi human figures used as ornaments occur on alternate recessed corners. The intervening corners bear three narrow bands on each facet, two of which coalesce, but forming six bands on two adjoining facets: (1) Narrow band with the meandering creeper, (2) Ornamental

1 *Orissa and Her Remains, Pl. XVIII.*

2 *Indische Plastik, Tafel. 57-59.*



Vajrāsana-Buddha-Bhaṭṭāraka—from Cuttack District—*Ghosh Collection*.



Fragment of Image of Bodhisatva Syamantak from Cuttack District—*Ghosh Collection*



Buddha, Khiching, Mayurbhañj, *Ca*, 11th Century



Female Figure, Khiching, Mayurbhañj



Female Figure, Khiching, Mayurbhañj



Mother and Child, Statuette from Bhubaneśvara, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta



Statuette from Bhubaneśvara, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta



Mother and Child from Bhubaneśvara now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta



Trailokya-Vijaya with twelve hands from Cuttack District—
Ghosh Collection



Sitā Tārā from Cuttack District—
Ghosh Collection

foliage, (3) meandering creeper intermixed with ornamental foliage, (4) ornamental foliage of a different type, (5) meandering creeper forming round medallions containing ornamental foliage and (6) narrow band with a creeper. Just above this portion there is a projection, above which are to be found six similar bands in which the decorative *motifs* issue from the mouths of Geese and *Makaras*. There is a greater degree of elasticity in all of these *motifs*. Like most art critics Cohn makes the mistake of placing this temple in the 12th or 13th century A. D., whereas the form of its *Śikhara* clearly proves that it is later than the Liṅgarāja but earlier than the Jagannātha temple.

The art of the Jagannātha temple at Puri is as crude as its architecture, but the vandalism of the priests of Puri has left very little of the carving of the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohanas* uncovered to judge its standard. In March 1929 the writer observed that patches of plaster had been removed from the *Vimāna*, and it is absolutely certain that the decorative art of this temple, *i. e.*, as much of it as can be certainly ascribed to Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga, is far more crude than that of the Rājā-Rāṇi. There is a certain stamp of haste and carelessness in every bit of carving that is still visible on its *Vimāna* and *Jagamohana*. The obscene figures on these two structures have been made more hideous still by the application of colours in order to heighten their shameless obscenity. In March 1929 a number of brackets and bas reliefs of the most grossly revolting type were collected on the platform of the *Jagamohana*, but nobody could inform the writer, at that time, whether they

came from the *Vimāna* or the *Jagamohana*. They were much more crude and barbarous than sculptures still to be seen on the body of the *Vimāna* and the *Jagamohana*.

So much has been written on the Sūrya Deul at Konarak and the high standard of its art that it is almost impossible to place the art of Konarak in its proper position in the chronological scale and at the same time to convince readers of the accuracy of such statements.

According to Codrington Messrs. Havell and Coomarswamy believe that "to the Indian mind this expression of the idealism of body and soul or of the longing of the soul for God seemed perfectly natural and that in carving or contemplating erotic motifs, no merely physical sensual image was intended or received. My knowledge of Indian thought is insufficient to allow me to judge of the correctness of this view. An element of wantonness does undoubtedly assert itself in art more boldly at some period of social culture than at others, and we must envisage certain aspects of mediaeval carving as a part of the *tantric* attitude which was characteristic of Indian religious philosophy between the 10th and 12th centuries."[1]

In the first place, it is extremely difficult to appraise the art of Konarak, because it is isolated and very few specimens of this period have been discovered in Orissa. In the second place, it has to be admitted that after the hideous plastic art of the Jagannātha temple at Puri there was a distinct artistic renaissance in the middle of

1 Rothenstein—*Introduction to Codrington's Ancient India. p. 6.*

the 13th century. We can not call the art of Konarak anything else but the product of a renaissance movement in the 13th century. In the third place, there is a break in the continuity of Orissan plastic activity for nearly a couple of centuries after the death of Narasiṁha I, and the next step is reached in the middle of the 15th century, when the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri was built.

Considered as a renaissance movement, Konarak human figures certainly lack the high ideal in their authors which we find in the figure work of the Liṅgarāja, Ananta Vāsudeva and the Rājā-Rāṇī, not to speak of the higher standard of similar work of Khiching and the Lalitagiri-Ratnagiri-Udaygiri group. It is certainly much more vigorous than the figure work of the Liṅgarāja, but it lacks the refinement of the ideal of the latter. It is this forceful and virile expression which appeals immediately to those, specially artists, who judge the art of Konarak by itself and do not attempt a comparative study of the sculpture of Orissa as a whole. So far as I know no comparative study of Orissan sculpture, beginning with the early mediaeval Buddhist art of the Cuttack district and ending with the much cruder art of the eastern gate of the inner enclosure of the temple of Jagannātha, has ever been instituted. Compared with the "A" period of Buddhist Art the virile art of Konarak is decidedly coarse and barbaric. After the end of the 12th century Orissa was practically isolated from the rest of Northern India after the Musalman conquest of Bengal at the end of the 12th century. The Haihaya kingdom of

Tripuri had already followed and that of Ratnapura had become a small and unimportant principality. In the south Varangal and the Chālukya-Choḷa kingdom of the Telugu country had lapsed into aboriginal barbarism. What it had gained in vigour of expression, it had certainly lost in the exquisite delicacy of touch of the Rājā-Rāṇī period. The best examples of survival of the influence on ideals of the earlier periods are to be found in the dancing female figures on the medallions of the wheels of the *Ratha* on the base of the entire structure.[1] On the other hand other human figures, both decent and indecent, in the plinth as well as in bas reliefs, bring in the virility of expression and general loss of refinement. If we compare the style, proportion and the expression of the face of the indecent figures in the body of the temple[2] with that of the bas reliefs with the exquisite and chaste figure work of the Rājā-Rāṇī we can not but come to any other conclusion.[3] Even the execution of the 12th century figures of Bhuvaneśvara are infinitely superior to the majority of figures discovered at Konarak, that we have got either on the body of the temple or in the sculpture shed. The best female figure selected by Cohn is infinitely inferior to all female figures of the Buddhist centre of Udaygiri-Lalitagiri-Ratnagiri. All the Nāga figures discovered at Konarak are coarse and disproportionate compared to those of Gandharāḍi, Khiching and the Rājā-Rāṇī temples.[5] The great door jamb overcrowd-

1 *Cohn—Indische Plastik, Tafel, 72.*

2 *Ibid., Pls. 62-63, 65, 75-76.*

3 *Ibid., Pls. 57-59.*

4 *Ibid., Pl. 64.*

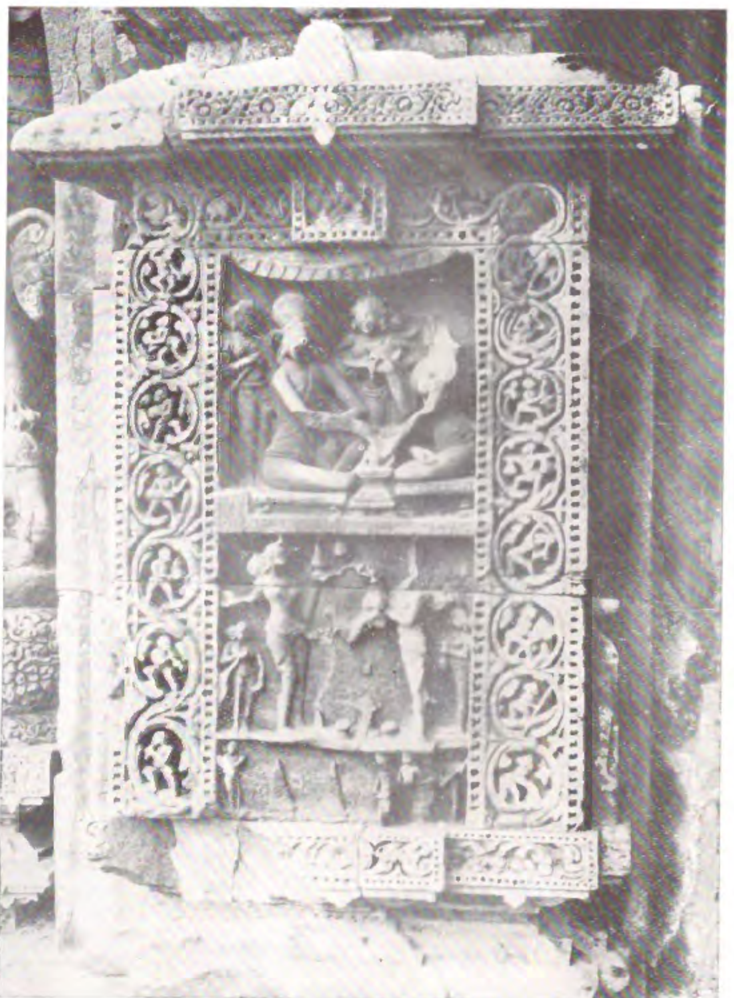
5 *Ibid., Pl. 66.*



A panel outside the shrine of the Liṅgarāja Temple, Bhubaneśvara, *Ca*, 1000 A. D.



Varuna in the s. w. w. panel outside the shrine of the Liṅgarāja Temple, Bhubaneśvara, *Ca*, 1000 A. D.



A panel outside the shrine of the Liṅgarāja Temple, Bhubaneśvara, *Ca*, 1000 A. D.



Nanda Yaśodā and Krishna, outside the shrine. Liṅgarāja Temple, Bhubaneśvara *Cā*, 1000 A.D.



Naga, Khiching.



Naga, Khiching.



Umā-Maheśvara, Khiching, Mayurbh añj

Bust of Śiva, Khiching, Mayurbhañj

ed with its nine bands of carving lack the natural poise or the exquisite charm of the less-ornamented jambs discovered after the dismantling of the Khandiya Deul at Khiching. The Konarak architect and artist had forgotten the grander effect of simplicity and overcrowded as much ornament as he could within a little space.[1] The bas reliefs in Chlorite which decorated the niches on the exterior are extremely unnatural in proportion of the human body and in the majority of cases the attitude. Let us compare the posture of the horse in one and the position of the seated figure at the foot of Krishṇa seated on a throne on the other. The worst example is the proportion between the rider and the driver of the elephant in the first bas relief on Pl. 75.[2] These bas reliefs of Konarak remind one very forcibly of the very barbaric but extremely forceful terra cotta plaques discovered by Messrs. Th. Bloch and K. N. Dikshit of the Archaeological Survey of India at Tāmriśvarī in the North-Eastern Frontier Tract, to the east of Sadiya, in Northeastern Assam.[3]

The same characteristics are to be observed in the images of the Sun God still *in situ* in one of the niches of the *Vimāna* of Konarak. Two of them are of the ordinary type of standing images of the Sun with two hands, while the third is a special image on horse-back. The position of the first two is stiff and stilted. The Bengal images of the 12th century are far superior to those. Even the Belur and Arsikere images of the

[1] *Ibid., Pl. 68.*

[2] *Ibid., Pls. 75-76.*

[3] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1904-1905, Pl. 1923-24, Pl.*

13th century are infinitely superior to these two figures in idealistic expression and execution. The canons nowhere lay down in the rules that the Sun God should be made to stand stiff as a martinet, and variations have been used in other schools of art, such as the Chandella school of Khajuraho-Mahoba and the fine Paramāra specimens of the temples at Kukḍesvar and Nemawar, both of which still remain to be studied. In the attendant figures the artist has attempted to introduce some grace by making them *bhaṅga*. But the general effect is mean on account of the overcrowding of the back slab. Inspite of a decidedly better treatment of the expression on the face and the proportion of the torso, the trefoil arch of the back slab seems to press down over the head of the god and the *Kīrttimukha* on the top of the trefoil had to be compressed within a very short space. With the exception of the figures of the horses there is very little to remind one of the glories of the ancient plastic art of the country. The image reproduced by Cohn, in which the figure of Aruṇa is not damaged, is certainly better modelled than the other, as with the exception of the central horse others are carved side-ways. There is an attempt to depict a smile on the face of the first image and grave serenity on that of the first in which two additional kneeling figures are to be found in the sides of the god. The third image is very rare from the point of view of iconography, as it shows the Sun God riding on the back of a horse. Of course, it can be recognised by the boots on his legs. The action of the horse and the proportions of the figure of the God are natural,

but the general want of sense of proportion of the Konarak artist is shown by the want of proportion between the horse and its rider.

On account of the vigour of expression in the 13th century renaissance of Konarak, figures of animals are much better executed on the whole than human figures. The lion became extinct in north-eastern India and therefore the artist's idea of that animal became unreal even in the 8th century A. D. The pairs of lions flanking the door of the *Jagamohana* in front, are quite unnatural, but not so the kneeling figures of the elephant, which is still a native of the jungles of the Garhjat. In the representation of the lion the idea of the Orissan artist was as much correct as that of the Gandharan Greek in the 1st century B. C. Where the artist had the opportunity of studying animal forms in life,—tigers, elephants and deer,—his productions are super-excellent. The colossal pairs of elephants on the northern side are often mistaken by visitors on moon-lit nights to be real.[1] But similar high praise can not be bestowed on the pairs of horses with riders in the compound of the same temple. They are disporportionate and unnatural, proving that the horse was not a familiar sight in Orissa.

The decorative art of the Sun Temple at Konarak is slightly different in form from that of Puri and Bhuvaneśvara. The principal defect of the architect and artist is a general want of poise in overcrowding the available surface with human, semi-divine and divine figures, arabesque, ornamental foliage, etc. The eye

[1] Cohn—*Indische Plastik, Tafel. 61.*

does not get the rest which it needs after the sparse ornamentation and chastity of decoration in the Liṅgarāja or the Rājā-Rāṇi. Let us take as an example the great platform on which the Sūrya Deul and its *Jagamohana* were built. The sides of this platform are so over-crowded with ornaments and bas reliefs, pilasters and pillars, human figures and wheels that, except for the very serious student, the general effect is of weariness after a few moments. Even in the case of the pediment of the temple, the *Vimāna* itself, the over powering sense of overcrowding is lamentable. The wheels standing out in magnificent relief are covered with stylized meandering creepers forming volutes, and every inch of available space is occupied. What a magnigicent relief they would have caused if they had stood out in plain bareness against the overcrowed back grounds of the walls. Instead of this there are large medallions on alternate spokes containing decent as well as indecent figures and even some of the hubs have been transformed into medallions with figures.

Compared with the Rājā-Rāṇi or the Lingarāja, another difference in the decorative style in Konarak is the larger use of the human figure in exterior decoration, in the place of pure decorative *motifs*. In this respect Konarak betrays a closer affinity to the South Central temple decoration, *e.g.*, those of Khajuraho and Nemawar. Almost every inch of the available space in one section of the pediment is almost entirely occupied with human figures and lions, the inter-spaces being filled up with plain geometrical figures. While the human figures of the Chlorite bas-reliefs are very crude and degenerate,



Buddha Touching Earth, Ratnagiri



Heruka, Ratnagiri



Carved Door-frame and two Buddhist Images set in a recently built Temple, Nalatigiri


Vīreśvara of the Mātṛikā group, Puri


Mātṛikā, Indrāṇī, Puri


Mātṛikā, Kaumārī, Puri



Māṭṛikā Vārāhī, Jajpur



Māṭṛikā Vārāhī, Puri

the beautiful symmetery and natural poise of the long bas relief at the base of the plinth is at once apparent. They represent soldiers on the march, wild elephants in the forests, *Kheda* operations, etc. Unfortunately these bas reliefs have not been completely dug out and are not always to be seen.

There are many temples in Orissa outside the beaten tract and many of them belonging to the time of the early and late Gaṅga kings. The country has not been properly surveyed as yet. Consequently plans and elevations of these are not available. Hence in dealing with the plastic art of Orissa one has to depend upon big centres like Bhuvaneśvara, Puri and Konarak. The *Mādalā Pānji* informs us that the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* of the temple of Jagannātha at Puri was built by the Emperor Purushottama (1470-97). This is the only part of the Puri temple in which the ornamentations are still free from plaster and whitewash. In this building the exterior is as full of carvings and bas-reliefs as that on the *Jagamohana* of Konarak. Unfortunately no photographs have been taken of these decorations up till now. The carvings consist of two different classes of decorations ; (i) free standing high reliefs depicting scenes mostly unidentified and (ii) decorations carved out of the body of the structure, such as Nāga pillars, female figures, geometrical patterns, etc. The former are in the same Chlorite as Konarak reliefs ; but though they are in the same style, they lack the rude vigour of the 13th century art. The scenes depicted are partly incidents from the life of Kṛishna and partly unknown. There are no labels on these reliefs as we find on some of the Konarak reliefs. In both of these classes

the human figures, in many cases, are in a stilted unnatural pose and the more so in the case of the *Bhogamaṇḍapa*. The decorations on the southern side of this *Bhogamaṇḍapa* are now obscured by a later covered passage, leading from the kitchen as far as the *Nātamandir*. Some of the reliefs on this building have been described by the late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguli.[1]

Between the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* and the outer gateway leading to the street, in front of which the *Aruṇastambha* from Konarak stands, there are three gateways in the inner enclosure. The central of these openings is in a line with the Singh Darwāja and the eastern gate of the *Bhogamaṇḍapa*. This doorway is also covered with decorations in the Konārak style, but the carvings are much later, being in fact later than those of the *Bhogamaṇḍapa*.[2] The very crude and unnatural human figures, the inartistic Nāga pilasters, etc., testify to its late date. Nobody has yet made it known to the public whether there is any record of its erection in the local chronicles. It seems to be certain from the style of carving that it belongs to the period of the *faineant Gajapatis* of Khurda.

The plastic art of Orissa possesses such a long history of its own and is so very varied in character that a full treatment of this subject consonant with its dignity and importance would require a separate monograph. It is not possible to deal with its significance in a

1 *Orissa and Her Remains*. 1912, pp. 423-24.

2 The late Mr. Mano Mohan Ganguli was of opinion that the gate was erected about thirty years before the date of the publication of his work ; but the style of carving should have convinced him that such work could not be produced in Orissa even in the 18th century.—*Orissa and Her Remains, p. 411.*

small chapter appended to a general history of the country from the earliest times to the British period. I have attempted therefore to give a brief outline of the great centres of plastic activity in this province from the 2nd century B. C. to the 16th. Before the time of Khāravela there is only one monument in Orissa, the elephant figure at Dhauli just over the edicts of Aśoka. The figure of the elephant however is not so elegant as those to be found on the capitals of pillars of Aśoka. The sunken panel on which the edicts are carved was originally as well polished as the pillars and capitals of Aśoka discovered in other places of India, but hardly any polish of the well known Mauryan type is to be discerned on the elephant. It can therefore be regarded as a specimen of contemporary local art. The next step is reached in the cave temples like the Ananta, Rāṇī-Nur, Svargapuri and Mañchapuri caves in the Udaygiri-Khaṇḍagiri group. They are closely followed by the minor caves on these hills of the first century B. C. The art of the earlier group of caves has been called stiff and deteriorated by Sir John Marshall. Still less appealing to the student of Indian Plastic Art are the minor cave temples of the 1st century B. C. Then comes the great gap of at least six centuries, during which we do not know anything of Orissan art and architecture. Suddenly at the end of the 7th century A.D. we find a highly developed school of art entirely Buddhist in nature at Udaygiri and Ratnagiri in the Cuttack district. No other group of Orissan sculpture has surpassed or probably will ever surpass the earliest group of art products used by the Buddhist monks of this area in ideal

technique and execution. The inscriptions on the majority of them prove that this high-tide of plastic excellence can not be earlier than the first half of the 8th century or the second half of the 7th. It is therefore to be admitted that Orissa did not share in the great *renaissance* of art in Northern India in the 5th and the 6th centuries A. D., generally called Gupta art. It is rather dangerous, in the absence of materials, to state that there was no corresponding revival of art in Orissa during the Gupta period. It is also difficult to say for what reasons there was no *renaissance* in Orissa in the 6th-7th centuries when the great Southern Schools of Arts rose at Aihole-Pattadkal-Badami in the Karṇāṭak and at Conjeevaram-Māmallapuram in the Tamil country. Somehow Orissa remained isolated from the earlier northern and southern art impulses till the 8th century.



Mother and Child
Khiching, Mayurbhanj



Female Figure, Khiching,
Mayurbhanj



Female Figure, Khiching,
Mayurbhanj



Mahiṣamardini at Khiching



Śiva at Khiching

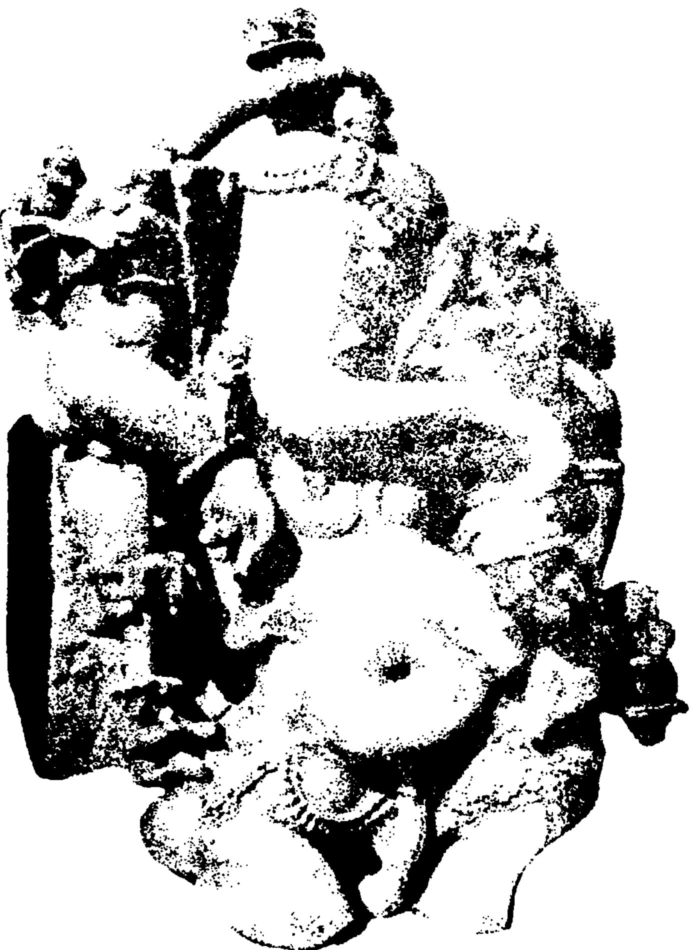
Gaṇeśa, Khiching, Mayurbhanj



Nāga and Nāgī, Khajuraho



Dancing Gaṇeśa, Khiching, Mayurbhanj, *ca* 11th Century



Gaṇeśa, Khajuraho

APPENDIX VI

RAJPUT ORIGINS IN ORISSA

Like the chiefs of other provinces of India many of the feudatory chiefs and zamindars of Orissa claim to be Rajputs. Yet their genealogical tables and the accounts which they have supplied to the compilers of Imperial and Provincial Gazetteers in this country very often prove the contrary. In almost all cases the chiefs claimed to be of Rajput descent before the British conquest of the country. Many of the modern chiefs of Orissa are really descended from ancient kings of that country and their ancestry can be traced back, historically, much further than those of most of the princely houses of modern Rajputana. The most prominent example is that of Mayurbhanj. In other cases Rajput origin has been claimed on very meagre and insufficient grounds by chiefs of humbler origins and these claims have gone unchallenged so long. The most prominent examples are the families of Vizianagram and Patna-Sonpur.

In the case of Vizianagram, the claim to Rajput origin seems to have been tacitly acknowledged by the Rajputs of Rajputana and by accurate historians of the type of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar. Prof. Sarkar, writing of the foundation of the Chiefship of Vizianagram, in the first volume of his monumental work on Aurangzeb, says : "In 1652 a Rajput officer of Golkonda seized Vizagapatam and extending his conquest formed a petty Rajahship."[1] The authority

[1] *Vol. 1 p. 215.*

quoted in a footnote in his page is the *Imperial Gazetteer*, (Vols. X, XII & XXIV). Out of these volumes only Vol. XXIV contains any reference to the Vizianagram family. Prof. Sarkar refers to page 339 in this Volume and on this page we find the following statement : "The family claims descent from Madhavavarma, who led a Rajput colony into the Kistna valley in A. D. 591 and whose descendants held important posts at the court of Golconda. In 1652 one of these, Pusapati Madhavavarma, entered Vizagapatam." The claim to Rajput descent and the tacit acceptance of the statement in the *Gazetteer* made Prof. Sarkar admit that the conqueror of Vizagapatam in 1652 was a Rajput. The Maharaja of Vizianagram is no doubt admitted to be a Rajput at the present day and intermarriages are taking place with the highest Rajput families. But the facts to be taken into consideration in deciding the claim of a descent from a Rajput clan are :—(1) the date when a migration is said to have taken place, and (2) the conditions of the migration, *e.g.*, different versions of the same story and their probability.

With these three points of enquiry before us in the case of the Vizianagram family, we find that the first point is decidedly against the theory of Rajput descent. The name Rajput was not in existence in the 6th century, and even if a migration into the Krishna valley is admitted at that time from some unknown place in Northern India, it is not possible to connect such people with genuine Rajputs of the divine Agnikulas of legends. The subsequent Rajput intermarriages of the family are no proof of its descent, as later on all kings became Kshatriyas, genealogies were provided for them as late as the 16th and the 17th centuries

(the Koches of Kuch Bihar and the Ahoms of Assam) and in the nineteenth century most princes became Rajputs. Inspite of the inherent defects in the story provided by the agents of the Vizianagram Estate to the compilers of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, it contains certain important pieces of information, and if they are correct and authentic they ought to prove the real descent of the family. The name Madhavavarman is very suggestive. Several chiefs of that name belonging to the Sailodbhava family ruled over the Kongoda-mandala in the seventh century. One of them, the subordinate of Sasānka, king of Gauda, was alive in 618 A. D., a date not very far removed from the traditional date of the migration of the so-called Rajputs into the Krishna valley. Mādhavavarman-Sainyabhita was not a Rajput, but he was a king and his people ruled over Java and Sumatra when the Rajputs of the bluest blood were still wandering Gujars or unconverted Hunas.

The chiefs of Patna and Sonpur claim to be descended from the Chauhans or Chahamanas. The story of their migration is of interest and provides us with an important specimen of the evolution of Rajput pedigrees of Orissan chiefs in British period of Indian history. So far as I know, no Orissan chief has been able to produce any genuine records in support of their claims to Rajput descent. The entire claim of the Patna-Sonpur family is based on legend and tradition which varies from time to time with the whims of the individual, either the chief or his officer. The earliest record of the genealogy of the Patna-Sambalpur-Sonpur family is to be found in the narrative of the English traveller, T. Motte, who was deputed by the East India Company to the "Diamond mines at Sumbhulpur" in 1766.

His journal was printed in the *Asiatic Annual Register* for 1799. Motte says :—

"Sumbhulpoor was founded by Bulram Dakee of whom they relate the following history. About two centuries are past since a company of Hindus set out from the banks of the Sommer in the province of Azmir, on a pilgrimage to the temple at Jaggernut. On their return the whole party was murdered, except one woman who made her escape to Patna, a place thirty coss south from hence, at that time the capital of this part of the country. She supported herself with begging until her son grew up, who shewed such a happy genius for learning, and such dexterity at his exercises, that the Rajah adopted him. When he succeeded, he built this place, and made it his residence, calling it Sumbhulpoor, from the country of his father. Had his family come from the Sommer, he would have called it Sommerpoor ; whereas, I should think, he came from Sumhhul, a large city in the Rohilla country."[1]

Motte found that the chiefs of Sambalpur claimed descent from a man who had come from Sambhar, the ancient Sakambhari, the first capital of the Chahmanas before they migrated to Delhi. He does not say whether the originator of the Patna-Sambalpur-Sonpur family was a Chauhan or a Parihar or a Kachhwaha. We reach the next stage in this maze of genealogy in the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India*, by Charles Grant, Nagpur, 1870 (Second Edition).

In this book the ancestor of the Patna-Sambalpur-Sonpur family has lost the characteristics of a pilgrim to Jagannath, he has become the Rajput Raja of Sambar near

[1] *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1799, pp. 73-74.



Rock-cut Image of Rishabha, the First Tirthankara
Lalātendu Keshari's Cave—Khandagiri—Puri District

Mainpuri. "The Maharajas of Patna claim direct descent from a race of Rajput Rajas of Garhsambar near Mainpuri and trace it through thirty-one generations. It is alleged that Hitambar Singh, the last of these Rajas, offended the king of Delhi, and was killed ; that his family had to abandon their country and fly in every direction ; and that one of his wives, who was at that time *enceinte*, found her way down to Patna, which was, it seems, at that time represented by a cluster of eight 'garhs,' and the chief of each 'garh' took it in turn to rule for a day over the whole. The chief of Kolagarh received the Rani kindly, and in due time she gave birth to a boy, who was called Ramai Deva. The chief adopted him, and eventually abdicated in his favour ; and when it came to his turn to rule, he took the first opportunity of causing the chiefs of the other seven garhs to be murdered and setting himself up as the ruler over the whole, with the title of Maharaja."[1]

This statement is certainly based on informations supplied to the compiler of the Gazetteer by officers of the Patna State. It differs materially from the statement of Motte in making the ancestor of the family a Raja instead of a comparatively insignificant private person of Sambhar who came on pilgrimage to Jagannath and in making him come from Garh Sambar instead of Sambhar near Ajmer. Mr. Grant quotes the report of Major Impey, which has not been printed as yet but considerable extracts from which are to be found in a learned paper by Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., on the Chhattisgarh States, published in the Journal and

[1] *Central Provinces Gazetteer, Second Edition. Nagpur, 1870, pp. 393-94.*

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Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XV. 1919. I have since obtained a copy of the original report and I find that Mr. Grant's quotations are not exact and Major Impey's report contains certain statements which bear on them the hall-mark of untruth. Writing on the 29th May, 1863, Major J. B. Impey states :

"2. The Maharajahs of Patna claimed direct descent from a race of Rajput Rajahs of Garh Sambal—near Mynpooree and count back the individuals of this race for thirty-two generations.

"3. It is narrated that these Rajahs used to be in constant attendance at the Court of Delhi till the last named Hitambar Sing, having intrigues and run off with one of the king's daughters, was pursued and killed and his family forced to fly. Amongst the wives of this Rajah was one who, escaping, arrived *enceinte*, in Patna, and found refuge with the chief of Kholagurh, being one of the 8 garhs, as marginally noted and which at that time alone formed the territories of Patna, being comprised within the three rivers, Ung, Mahanuddy and Tel and bounded on the west by Khurriar (a possession then of Jeipoor) and Brindanawagurh ; and the chiefs of which took it in turns a day at a time to exercise full authority, as Rajah, over the whole. She was placed in charge of the said chief's Brahmin at Rampoor and there gave birth to a boy, named Ramaee Deo. The chief adopted the boy—and subsequently on his coming of age, himself being sick and weary of rule, resigned his position to him. Ramaee Deo soon after this succeeded in murdering the other seven chiefs, and usurping to himself the whole and permanent authority in Patna. Finally he married a daughter of the ruler of

Orissa through whose influence and power he was enabled to maintain his usurped position."

The difference between the statements recorded by Motte in 1766 and Impey in 1863 is very great. The State officials had become bold enough to claim that this supposed petty chief of Mainpuri had become of sufficient importance to intrigue with a princess of the Royal House of Delhi. There is a greater amount of difference with regard to the date of the migration of the ancestor of the family. Motte stated that the ancestor of the family came to Orissa a couple of centuries before his time (1766), say, in the middle of the sixteenth century. At this time Akbar was on the throne of Delhi. Will any respectable scholar admit today that Hitamber Sing, a petty Jaigirdar or military adventurer, intrigued with the daughter of the great Mughal Emperor ? Grant quotes the names of 26 generations of the chiefs of Patna up to his time. Impey quoted 25 up to Vajra-Hiradhara Deva who died in 1762. Even if we take 20 years to be the average duration of the rule of a chief we cannot name Hitambar Sing, the reputed father of Ramai Deva, to be a contemporary of Akbar. It became clearly necessary now to furnish additional information to to State historiographers and compilers of Gazetteers in order to cover this defect. Let us turn to the next editions of the District Gazetteer. It should be sufficient at this stage to note that a suggestion of Motte made in 1766 and recorded and printed in 1799 was sufficient to put the State officials on their guard in 1863 and 1870 ; that Somer near Ajmer of their tradition may be Sambhal a great Rohilla stronghold. Therefore, in all subsequent "informations" supplied to British officials they stuck loyally to

Sambhal and gave the go-by to the Sambhar of the artless "Chhamkaran" of 1766 who supplied facts as he knew them to Motte. In between Motte and Impey or Grant another Englishman gave a different turn to the ancestry of the chiefs of Patna-Sambalpur-Sonpur. Sir Richard Temple states in 1863, in his *Report on the Zemindaris and other petty Chieftaincies in the Central Provinces*—"The Sambalpur and the Patna Rajas are sometimes said to be descended from or related to the royal or independent Haihaibansi dynasty of Ratanpur, in the Chhattisgarh plateau, which was formerly the capital of Chhattisgarh."[1] This rambling reference by the late editor of the Indian Antiquary only proves a wild craving on the part of these chiefs to secure another Rajput ancestry if the Chauhan claim failed.

We must now return to examine the reports or "informations" supplied by the next generation of State officials in which they attempted to cover the deficiencies of their predecessors. This is to be found in the Bengal Provincial Gazetteer, containing the account of the Feudatory States of Orissa. This volume, printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press, was edited by Mr. L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, I.C.S. I have not seen a more glaring instance of carelessness on the part of an editor. Mr. Cobden-Ramsay has permitted himself to be hoodwinked by his own subordinates as well as many of the State officials. He has failed to consult printed books on the subjects on which he was writing and was careless enough to rely entirely on his Indian subordinates. His predecessor Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., who compiled the Gazetteer

[1] *Reprinted at Nagpur, 1923, p. 8, foot-note.*



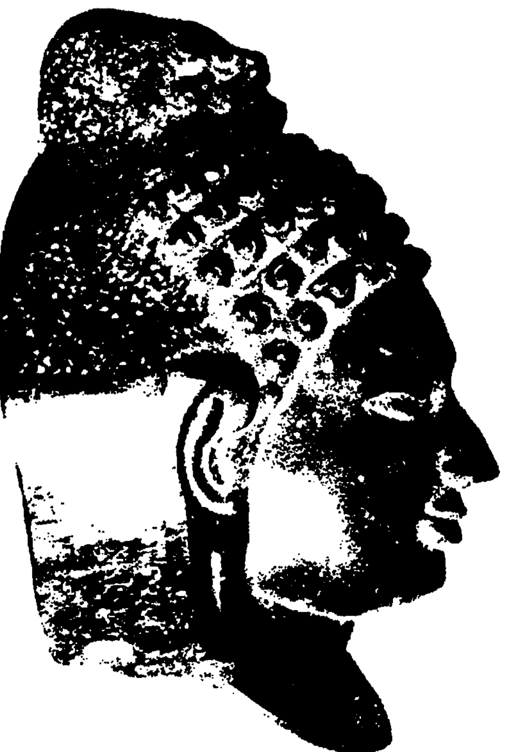
Image of Śiva, Great Temple, Khiching.



Buddha Touching Earth, Lalitagiri



Kuvera, Lalitagiri




Bronze Mask of Buddha, Chandwar,
Ca, 11th Century A. D.



Nagis, Khiching.

of the District of Sambalpur, is no better, in comparison. We can detect even now that some sort of intrigue was being carried on between the petty Chiefs of Orissa for the establishment of their Rajput ancestry and one party got hold of the subordinate establishment of some British office and managed to introduce their version of the ancestry of their own Chiefs. Messrs. O'Malley and Cobden-Ramsay, totally oblivious of facts as recorded by Impey and Grant on their particular points, printed the "informations" supplied to them by the State officials through their Indian clerks. We find two of them mentioned by O'Malley in a footnote on p. 23 of the Gazetteer of the Sambalpur District, printed in 1909. "I am indebted to Babu Satyabadi Padhi and Babu Nand Kishore Bohidar of Sambalpur for assistance in preparing this account of the legendary history of Sambalpur."[1] It was the interest of the Sambalpur party to prove that Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar were at one time their dependencies and the editor of the Gazetteer quietly printed these names among the 18 dependencies of Sambalpur.[2] He did not consider it necessary to look into the authenticity of the claim of the Patna-Sonpur-Sambalpur group. Mr. Cobden-Ramsay proved himself to be far more adaptable to the needs of the Sonpur-Patna party. He admitted everything placed before him to be true and gave the stamp of truth to these statements by including them in the Gazetteer. His book gave the chiefs of Patna and Sonpur some right to claim that their ancestor came to Orissa 600 years

[1] *Bengal District Gazetteer, Sambalpur, 1909, p. 23.*
[2] *Ibid., p. 22.*

ago, *i.e.*, in the beginning of the 14th century instead of the middle of the 16th.[1] There is no evidence of the existence of Patna as a separate State or of the migration of the ancestor of the present house in the 14th century.

Mr. Cobden-Ramsay has also provided a second line of ancestors for the Sonpur-Patna group of chiefs by stating another legend according to which one Hamir Deva fled from Garh Shambar and established himself at Manikgarh in the hills of Khariar. He went to fight and was killed. He had seven queens, six of whom became *Satis*. The seventh was pregnant and found refuge in the forest between Patna and Khariar. She was protected by the aborogines of the Binjhal tribe and her son was Ramai Deva.[2] The uncertainty of the Rajas of Patna and Sonpur about their ancestry and their eagerness to ensure their descent from Rajput stock is proved by their inclusion of two different lines of ancestors on the same page of the account. Evidently there was some one behind one of the parties who had sufficient knowledge of ancient Indian History and Epigraphy to understand the value of the futile suggestion that Sambhal near Mainpuri was the original home of the so-called Chauhans of Patna-Sonpur and not Sambhar or Sakambhari in Rajputana.[3]

The claim to Rajput descent of the Sonpur-Patna family entered into a new phase in the last quarter of the century from the present day. This attempt was headed by a respectable scholar, Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, formerly a lawyer of Sambalpur and at present a lecturer in the Post-

1 *Bengal District Gazetter, Orissa Feudatory States, p. 232.*

2 *Ibid., p. 284*

3 *Ibid., p. 285.*

Graduate Department in Arts of the Calcutta University and a Vakil of the Calcutta High Court. Mr. Mazumdar's first work on this subject was published in 1911 and is entitled "Sonpur in the Sambalpur tract." In Chapter VI Mr. Mazumdar says: "The legendary account of the Chohan Rajas is that one Humeru of the family of Prithviraj of Delhi, having lost his position at Mainpuri in in Upper India during the time of the Mahomedan rulers, came with his queens to the borders of Patna State and established a little principality. How this Rajput adventurer came upon this far-off tract after travelling many hundred miles through rugged hills and dense forests is not now easy to ascertain." (p. 44-45). This account differs from the previous "Informations" supplied to the compiler of the Bengal Gazatteers, of Sambalpur, and the Orissa Feudatory States, in the fact that the pilgrim of an unknown caste described by Motte in 1766 who had become a Chauhan of Sambhal near Mainpuri in Impey's report of 1863 and Grant's Gazetteer in 1870, and who had gone up at least three hundred years anterior in date than the date given by Motte, now becomes a member of the family of Prithviraja. Mr. Mazumdar perhaps does not know that the Chahamanas continued to rule over the North-Eastern portion of Rajputana after the fall of Delhi and Ajmer in 1192-93. So it became convenient to make Humeru, and Hitambar Sing, come to Orissa instead of following the fortunes of Hari Singh or Hammira I of Ranastambhapur or Ranthambhor in the Jaipur State. It also became convenient for Mr. Mazumdar through the accommodation of Messrs. Cobden-Ramsay and O'Malley to assert that Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar once acknowledged

the suzerainty of the Chauhan Rajas of Patna and Sambalpur. He says on p. 48 : "some old records disclose the fact that the Chauhan Rajas of Patna and Sambalpur issued orders of demand of revenue upon some chiefs of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj. It is to be regretted that no trace of these records can now be obtained, though they were inspected either by Sir A. Grant himself or by his responsible assistants some time previous to 1862."[1]

There is *no mention* of such records in the Gazetteer of the Central Provinces either in the first edition of 1868 or in the second edition of 1870. Mr. Mazumdar henceforth can only be regarded as the historiographer of the chiefs of the Patna-Sambalpur-Sonpur group and not a critical scholar. The next feat attempted by Mr. Mazumdar was in 1925 in his "Orissa in the Making," published by the University of Calcutta. Here he accepts as correct the statements in the Bengal Gazetteers of 1909 and 1910 that "so early as the 12th or 13th century A. D. one Humeru of of the family of the Chohan Rajputs of Mainpuri in the United Provinces came to Patna with his wife" (p. 219). The most important addition in this instalment is that "the son of Humeru born in Patna State became by his mythical powers the chief of the eight Malliks who had the government Patna and Sambalpur in their hands and thus established the Chohan rule in the Kosala country by being installed at Gad-Sambar," (p. 220). The only proof in support of the statement which Mr. Mazumdar can quote is the acceptance of this tradition by the Maratha Rajas of Nagpur and by Major Impey. As if any of the Bhonslas or their officers were in a position to ascertain the true

[1] *Sonpur in the Sambalpur tract.*



Surya on Horse-back—Surya Deul
Konārak—Puri District

Rajput origin of any family! In the British period the story of Motte stands out distinctly as the only correct version of the ancestry of the Patna-Sambalpur-Sonpur group of chiefs among the number of accounts supplied to writers like Messrs. Impey, C. Grant, Cobden-Ramsay and O'Malley. Every true scholar will grieve to find the respected name of Mr. B. C. Mazumdar included in this group. The chiefs of Patna-Sambalpur-Sonpur group were descended from a pilgrim of some unknown caste who came on pilgrimage from Sambar to Jagannath in the earlier part of the 16th century, founded a kingdom which later on became powerful, and began to claim Rajput origin and who, with the help of British Gazetteer writers, have now become the agnates of Prithviraja II of Delhi and Ajmer.

I shall take only one other instance among the chiefs of Orissa, *viz.*, that of Mayurbhanj. The Bhanjas of Orissa were independent monarchs in the time of Ranabhanja I. This chief began as a semi-independent ruler sometime in the 8th century A. D. From the rank of a Ranaka he rose to be a Maharaja and his descendants ruled over almost the whole of Orissa from modern Mayurbhanj to the Gumsur Taluk of the Ganjam district of Madras. Many chiefs of Orissa still call themselves Bhanjas and rule over many of the Garhjat States and Zamindaries. The present chiefs of Mayurbhanj, instead of claiming descent from the ancient Bhanja kings of the inscriptions, started a new theory about their descent in the British period. Evidently the Oriya "*Chhamukarana*" of Mayurbhanj and the allied group of chiefs were neither so intelligent nor so forward as those of the so-called Chauhan chiefs of Patna-

Sambalpur-Sonpur. The theory they started was very fallacious and therefore it immediately became open to attacks of the writers. Mr. Mazumdar says: "It is narrated that a son of a celebrated Man Sing of Jaypur in Rajputana came to Puri and got the zemindari of Hariharpur on marrying a daughter of the then Gajapati Raja of Puri and that subsequently the eldest son of this adventurer became the ruler of the northern half of the State and the second son became the proprietor of the southern half, which developed into the State of Keonjhar. It is also stated that Jay Sing after the acquisition of Hariharpur conquered Mayuradhvaja, then holding the Gadi at Bamanghati in the western part of the State, and thus effected a territorial extension. The new ruler after this acquisition of territory assumed the surname of Bhanja as a measure of policy. The absurd dates recorded in the family annals may be wholly disregarded, as the Temple of Jagannath and the progenitors of the Gajapati Rajas were not in existence earlier than the middle of the 12th century A. D." (pp. 119-20)." The statements of Mr. Mazumdar are perfectly correct. In Mr. Cobden-Ramsay's Gazetteer of Feudatory States of Orissa it is stated that "the Mayurbhanj State was founded some 13 hundred years ago by one Jai Sing who was a relative of the Raja of Jaipur in Rajputana. Jai Sing came on a visit to the shrine of Jagannath at Puri and married a daughter of the then Gajapati Raja of Orissa and received Hariharpnr as a dowry. Of his two sons, the eldest Adi Sing, held the Gadi of the Mayurbhanj State. The Annals of the Mayurbhanj Raj family, however, say that Jay Sing came to Puri with his two sons. Adi Sing and Jati Sing, the elder of whom was married to a daughter of

the Puri Raj." (p. 239). The Rajputs were not in existence as a generic clan in the 6th century A. D. and the Kachhwaha State of Dhundhar, Amber or Jaipur was not in existence at that time. Therefore, the "informations" supplied to the compiler of the Gazetteer was totally wrong. The attempt of the modern chiefs with the affix Bhanja of Orissa can, therefore, be regarded only as a very ill-conceived attempt to obtain Rajput ancestry. The "Chhamakarana" of the Mayurbhanj State was not equipped in Rajput history or ancient Indian chronology and therefore, he made statements to the compiler of the Gazetteer which would make any other man blush in the 20th century.

What, then, is the real origin of these claims to Rajput ancestry on the part of the chiefs of Orissa ? Vizianagram is certainly not in Orissa but I have included it within this enquiry because it fell within the zone of influence of Orissa up to 1550 and in the southernmost limit on eastern coast within which Rajput origin is claimed by Indian chiefs. In all three cases we find that a date is claimed for the migration when the Rajput had no existence and when the migration could not have taken place. The connected circumstances are such as to make the migration theory absolutely improbable. In the case of Patna only persistent and intelligent attempts have been made by State officials and state historiographers to make the claim more acceptable in the light of modern research, but older records of English writers and modern discoveries in ancient Indian chronology have proved these claims to be entirely false. The only cause which I can assign for this craze for Rajput origin is the preponderance of the Rajputs as warriors and

mercenaries in the 17th century when under the Mughals they spread their fame from Balkh to Assam and from Kashmir to Ahmadnagar. Rajputs of Malwa entered the service of the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Golkonda and there was a rush for Rajput ancestry all over India even on the part of princes whose blood was blue when the Agnikula Rajput was a barbarian clothed in his war paint. The real origin of the Bhanja chief of Mayurbhanja is now being recognised by critical scholars like Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda[1] and Rai Bahadur Hira Lal.[2] We must close our enquiry regarding the Rajput origins in Orissa at this point.

[1] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1822-23, and 1923-24.*

[2] *Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVIII, p. 290.*

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